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Foreign Ministry News Briefing Held 12 Sep

Gerasimov on Shevardnadze Interview

LD1209140489 Moscow TASS in English 1335 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov today expressed a mixed reaction to the early U.S. response to his chief Eduard Shevardnadze's interview with the newspaper IZVESTIYA on Monday.

Gerasimov said that one's impression was both positive, as the interview had found itself the focus of attention of American analysts, and negative, as the first comments were unbalanced, describing the Soviet foreign minister's remarks as sharply critical of the U.S. negotiating posture on arms control.

The spokesman called reporters' attention to the fact that Shevardnadze in his interview had analysed the entire package of Soviet-U.S. relations, mentioning latent reserves and untapped possibilities as well as positive achievements.

Commenting on the U.S. State Department's claim that the Americans had seized the initiative in arms control, Gerasimov stressed the undesirability of spreading "football terminology" to arms control.

"We would be very glad at any initiatives that could lead the USSR and the United States to accords, including those on nuclear and space arms," he said.

Calls for 'Broad Dialog' on Afghanistan

LD1209141589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1325 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 12 Sep (TASS)—The Soviet Union thinks that promoting the engagement of various circles of the Afghan opposition during negotiations in order to find compromise solutions and constructive ways to overcome inter-Afghan differences can only be welcomed, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said at a briefing today. He commented on reports about a meeting in Rome between a representative of the U.S. Embassy and Zahir Shah, former Afghan king.

The Soviet side, the representative of the ministry Information Directorate noted, has proceeded and proceeds from the fact that an Afghan political settlement is impossible without establishing broad dialogue within Afghanistan with the participation of all the political forces and groupings, including such a prominent political figure as Zahir Shah. In this connection, he recalled that Soviet representatives, in particular Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, had also met with Zahir Shah and discussed possible ways of solving the conflict.

Gennadiy Gerasimov stressed that attempts to leave the most powerful force in the political and military aspect, which is the legitimate government of the Republic of Afghanistan, beyond the framework of a political settlement, are doomed to fail from the outset and lead to the continuation of the war and bloodshed. Having evaluated Washington's policy as a policy of one-sided orientation toward Peshawar extremists and the continuation of military pressure on Kabul, he stressed that this course "does not take into account the realities of today's Afghanistan and does not meet the Afghan people's striving for the restoration of peace."

Views 'Foreign Interference' in Cambodia

LD1209140789 Moscow TASS in English 1338 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—"The most serious task that is to be resolved in order to achieve a political settlement of the Cambodian issue is to prevent the Pol Pot men from rekindling the civil war and seizing power," a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed at a briefing here today.

Ending outside military aid to all Cambodian parties and foreign interference in Cambodia's internal affairs constitute one of the means to reach that objective, said Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the ministry's Information Directorate.

Assessing the developments in that country, the ministry spokesman pointed to Phnom Penh's and Hanoi's aspiration towards the earliest political solution of the Cambodian issue.

At the same time, he drew attention to the fact that the Khmer armed opposition embarked on a directly opposite path, that of the military solution of the problem.

Gerasimov stressed in this connection that "many states concerned and the Cambodian parties favoured the termination of outside military assistance."

"A practical implementation of these intentions can only be welcomed," he added.

Commenting on assertions that are made in some countries, for instance the United States and Thailand, about "increased Soviet arms deliveries to Cambodia," the spokesman emphasised that "they have been carried out in accordance with the agreements between the two countries for several years and are routine in character.

Naturally, these deliveries are not, nor can become a 'threat to the security' of any third country."

"At the same time, the USSR is ready, as before, to discuss in the most serious way with all parties concerned the question of ending military deliveries by all states to all Cambodian forces," Gerasimov said.

Rogachev on Indonesian President's Visit

LD1209140189 Moscow TASS in English 1330 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—Indonesian President Suharto's visit to the Soviet Union, ending today, is a natural follow-up of processes that have developed in Soviet-Indonesian relations over the past few years, a Soviet deputy foreign minister said at a news briefing today.

Igor Rogachev said that in the Soviet Union the visit is considered successful and the agreements, reached during Suharto's meeting with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, are assessed very highly.

He pointed out that the talks were held in a friendly and trusting atmosphere. The heads of the two states informed one another about the situation in their countries and discussed a wide range of topical international problems and various aspects of bilateral relations.

The two sides adopted a joint communique which will be published on Wednesday. Rogachev pointed to the growth of contacts between the two countries' foreign ministries, noting that the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and Indonesia had already met five times this year.

The two ministries have agreed a protocol on bilateral consultations.

The deputy minister expressed conviction that results of President Suharto's visit "will make a major contribution to the development of bilateral relations and improvement of the situation in the Asia-Pacific region and will have a most favourable effect on the situation in the whole world."

TASS Summarizes News Briefing

LD1209164289 Moscow TASS in English 553 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—The visit by Indonesian President Suharto to the USSR which ends today, is a natural continuation of the processes which are developing in Soviet-Indonesian relations in the past few years, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev told a briefing here today. He pointed out that the Soviet Union regards the visit as fruitful and successful and gives a positive assessment to understandings reached during the meeting between President Suharto and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Speaking next, Gennadiy Gerasimov touched on a Cambodian settlement. "The most important task which should be tackled for the sake of reaching a political solution of the Cambodian question is to prevent the Khmer Rouge from kindling again a civil war and grabbing power," he said. Termination of outside military aid to all Cambodian parties and foreign interference in Cambodia's domestic affairs is an instrument to achieve this.

Dwelling at length on pronouncements voiced in some countries, including the United States and Thailand, on "growing Soviet arms supplies to Cambodia", the spokesman pointed out that "they are made in line with the existing agreements between the two countries over several years and are of a routine nature. Naturally, these supplies are not and cannot be a "threat to security of any third country". "At the same time," he added, "the USSR is ready, as was the case in the past, to discuss seriously, with all interested parties, the question of stopping arms supplies by all states to all Cambodian forces."

Gerasimov told journalists that a plenary meeting of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee on ethnic relations would open on September 19. Asked about the convocation of a plenary meeting of the Ukrainian Communist Party [UCP] Central Committee in the near future, he said that "no plenum of the UCP Central Committee is planned in the next few days".

The spokesman noted that Said al-Faysal, personal representative of Iraqi President Saddam Husayn and deputy foreign minister of Iraq, arrived in Moscow on September 11. He brought a message to President Gorbachev in reply to the latter's message handed over to the Iraqi leader early in August.

Gerasimov also informed the gathering that another round of the bilateral Soviet-Japanese political consultations at the level of deputy foreign ministers would be held in Moscow on September 13. The Soviet side will be represented by Igor Rogachev.

Asked about the upcoming presidential elections in Chile, he noted that the Soviet people follow with sympathy democratic changes which started in that country. "We regard the upcoming presidential elections next December as an important step towards restoration of state insitutions," Gerasimov said.

Commenting on a report that COCOM [Coordinating Committee on Export Controls] blocked a large contract with the Belgian firm Alcatel to supply telephone equipment to the USSR, the spokesman called COCOM's continued "practice of bans" as inconsistent with the thaw in the international climate. He noted that this practice is detrimental to the normal development of economic relations between the West and the East.

Commenting, at journalists' request, on the decision of Hungary to give a chance to the GDR's citizens to cross freely the Hungarian state border, the spokesman said: "Hungary has taken an unusual step".

United States & Canada

Reportage on Boris Yeltsin's Visit to U.S.

Holds New York News Conference

LD1209204589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Yeltsin, a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet who is in the United States on an unofficial visit, held a news conference in New York. Representatives of the leading mass media of the United States and several other countries were present. Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin shared his impressions of the first 2 days of his stay in the United States. He called the Americans an industrious, friendly, and cordial people and said that his ideas about the United States have radically changed. The Soviet parliamentarian was asked questions about the party's role in the Soviet political system and about the elections in the USSR—on which he expounded his personal opinions. On 12 September Yeltsin gave an open lecture on the limits of Soviet democracy at Columbia University.

Meets U.S. Leaders in Washington

LD1309085189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0747 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] Washington, 13 Sep (TASS)—B.N. Yeltsin, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, who is in the United States on an unofficial visit, had a conversation with B. Scowcroft, assistant to the President on National Security, in the White House on Tuesday. During this meeting, President G. Bush came into B. Scowcroft's office.

According to the official announcement by the White House, in the course of the 15-minute conversation between G. Bush and B.N. Yeltsin relations between the USSR and the United States were touched on. "The President," this announcement states, "expressed his opinion that general bilateral relations are in good shape. In this connection, the President drew attention to his very positive relations with General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev, and confirmed that he supports perestroyka. The President stressed that the American people share his hope that the reforms in the Soviet Union will be crowned with success."

B.N. Yeltsin also had a meeting with U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker.

Yeltsin's Visit Examined

LD1209230189 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Excerpts] [Mikhail Glebov] A major story in the American press and broadcasts is undoubtedly these days the visit to the United States by Boris Yeltsin, MP and member of the Communist Party Central Committee.

[Unidentified correspondent] This is no surprise, since his speeches and interviews reflect the problems facing Soviet society, the subject of heated debates in the Kremlin and party organizations, as well as in the streets. For the Americans, this has been all the more interesting, since they have been able to hear this from Boris Yeltsin, whom news agencies called President Gorbachev's permanent critic. However, Yeltsin himself has made it clear from the start that the divergences do not affect the basic principles. Asked at one of the first news conferences in the United States whether he regarded the socialist revolution in Russia in 1917 a mistake, Yeltsin—as the UPI quotes him—replied with a terse nyet, no. He explained that the United States revolution had had over 200 years of experience with democracy in contrast to the 72 years that have passed since the tsarist regime was overthrown. This can be extended to yet another historical example: after the great revolution in France in the 18th century, that country has seen a whole series of revolutions to solve its problems. More on how Yeltsin's statements in the United States have mirrored debates in Soviet society and here are details from Mikhail Glebov.

[Glebov] In his speeches and interviews, Boris Yeltsin confirmed his reputation of an advocate of more drastic reforms than those being carried out by the government and the president. He focused on the fact [that] there now was a movement that had started from below in the form of strikes. The French news agency quotes him as saying that the strikes indicated dissatisfaction with the national leadership, including President Gorbachev.

Now, this is an interesting point, and there are many important problems behind it. Indeed, some public figures from among the most radically minded Soviet MPs have interpreted the strikes as disagreement with the top leadership's policy. But their views are opposed by those who suggest giving a closer look to what the miners demanded during the strikes that shook the country in the summer. They argue that by and large the strikers demanded the election of new local governing bodies in place of the present passive ones and they protested at the cautious pace of reforms and decision-making in the provinces. They recall that the miners themselves voiced their opposition against ministry bureaucrats and medium-ranking officials blocking the decisions adopted at the top to give enterprises more leeway and promote lease relations. As for the national leadership, it called on the population long ago to campaign more vigorously for perestroyka and carry out reforms locally, even though they consider strikes as not the best means since they create extra economic problems. It's the government's ideas that made up the basis of the legislation passed by the Supreme Soviet in the summer to enable businesses to leave ministries and choose the forms of management themselves. President Gorbachev has welcomed the law as a major step towards perestroyka. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Thanks to Boris Yeltsin's visit, the Americans have had an opportunity to learn about various views in these discussions. For his part, Yeltsin has voiced the opinion described by the French news agency by such a phrase: Much could be learned from United States democracy to create a new socialist model. By other agencies' reports, he also urged the United States Administration to send aid to the Soviet Union and seek closer economic cooperation through private business contacts. According to the UPI, Yeltsin called for direct investment by American businessmen in the Soviet economy. Back to Mikhail Glebov:

[Glebov] This may evoke an interesting response in the Soviet Union, where Yeltsin has won popular support by his call for social justice and against all privileges. But at the same time, the population has much resentment about the co-ops and joint ventures involving Western businessmen. They regard this as contradicting social justice. Many such people may regard Yeltsin's idea of direct American investment as a surprise. But on the other hand, Yeltsin's popularity may boost the idea of promoting joint ventures in line with the government's line. Incidentally, Yeltsin himself has been stressing in the United States time and again that he is guided by the desire to guarantee perestroyka's success and advance socialist ideals.

As a UPI observer remarked, Yeltsin, despite his continued criticism of Gorbachev, called on the United States to help his country carry out the Soviet leader's reforms. In this sense, Yeltsin's visit has given the Americans a good insight into the pluralism of views in Soviet society today.

Shevardnadze, Baker To Discuss Ties in Wyoming

LD1309012389 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Secretary of States James Baker will meet at Jackson, Wyoming next week. Vladislav Kozyakov comments:

This will be the fourth meeting of its kind. Moscow is convinced the meeting will take place in a good atmosphere and this will enable Shevardnadze and Baker to solve difficult questions. In an interview with the daily IZVESTIYA on Monday, Shevardnadze said impressive and far-reaching results could be achieved in all areas of the Soviet-American dialogue, and our two nations could upgrade their relations.

Is Washington ready to meet Moscow halfway? Hardly, and this is a pity. Administration leaders are still favoring a policy from positions of strength that clashes with their stated wish for disarmament and cooperation. Now let's face it: American politicians are not always consistent. After progress was made at the talks to reduce conventional arms and ban chemical weapons, the new Soviet proposals to solve complicated problems drew no response at the nuclear and space arms talks. What's more, participants in these talks have even lost something that was gained under the former administration. The Soviet Union and the United States have moved to understanding to settle some of the regional conflicts, namely the Iran-Iraqi war, Namibia and Southern Africa, but since the Geneva Accords and Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, the United States has been turning into a party to the bloody war on Afghan soil.

Our two nations could have achieved better relations. True, dozens of ministries and public organizations on both sides have been committed and some 40 intergovernmental agreements have been signed, but far from all cooperation opportunities have been used, especially in getting action on environmental protection, on space exploration for peaceful purposes, health care, off-setting drug addiction and terrorism, and other tasks common to all humanity.

Who can say what danger will be the gravest in the near future: nuclear weapons, an ecological disaster, or maybe some virus. At any rate, a decision has been adopted to move the Doomsday Clock in the Chicago Bulletin of Atomic Scientists not only depending on the solution of problems of security, but also on the solution of problems common to all of humanity.

The Soviet Union is going to Wyoming with worthwhile proposals. Shevardnadze said the time was ripe for promoting dialogue, and the task facing both Mr Baker and himself, he said, was clearing the way for one more Soviet-American summit.

Commentator Views Quayle Remarks on Nationalities

LD1209194389 Moscow World Service in English 1710 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Spartak Alekseyev commentary]

[Text] The United States Vice President Mr Dan Quayle has said on television that Washington supports the nationalist independence movements in the USSR, and will probably respond to the appropriate events in some of the Soviet republics. Spartak Alekseyev has contributed the following comment:

Mr Quayle said American response would be negative if Moscow refused to grant independence to the Baltic nations, but none of the Soviet Baltic republics has either through parliament or government, or through referendum, volunteered to secede. On the contrary, there have been more sober voices in favor of preserving the union, reinforcing the economic independence and national sovereignty of each of its republics, and promoting ties among them all on new economic and political principles.

Against a backdrop of this kind, Mr Quayle's statement can be rather construed as support for the nationalist groups in this country that claim they want to secede to uphold national independence. Judging by the statements, some political quarters in Washington would like to size up in their own way not only emigration from this country, but also nationalities relations here, and react in accordance with their own political goals. These quarters are trying to justify probably interference in Soviet affairs.

True, the vice president does hope that glasnost and perestroyka and so-called new thinking we hear and read about of General Secretary Gorbachev is for real and that we continue to move forward, unquote. But it takes two to tango. If there's to be an onward movement in earnest, the United States, too, must adopt new thinking and give up destructive political stereotypes of the past. It's against a movement of this kind to map out negative response, if in this field in the USSR clashes with the American thinking or wishes. [sentence as heard]

Bush Denies U.S. Combat Role in Drugs War Planned

PM1209174589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Sep 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Bush Denial"]

[Text] Washington, 12 Sep—U.S. President G. Bush has denied mass media reports that the United States is prepared to put American troops at the disposal of the Colombian, Bolivian, and Peruvian authorities to participate in joint operations to combat the drugs mafia.

Addressing Treasury Department officials, the president stated that "none of the Andean states have asked the United States to send troops" and that the question "of using American armed forces in a combat role is not envisaged."

At a meeting with journalists White House Press Secretary M. Fitzwater also denied the existence of plans to use U.S. Armed Forces in combat operations in Andean countries. The national strategy to combat drugs announced by the president, he recalled, envisages the allocation of $261 million to the governments of Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia to help the armed forces and law-enforcement agencies in fiscal 1990. However the U.S. military personnel in those countries will only train people to operate the equipment supplied by the United States and familiarize them with its utilization.

USIA's Gelb Queried on Information Exchange

LD1209232289 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Excerpts] The newly appoined USIA director, Mr. Bruce Gelb, has ended a week-long visit to the Soviet Union after talks with local officials on the possibility of widening bilateral contacts. The Agency's first ever American national exhibition in Moscow 30 years ago was attended by the then Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchev, who had a heated ideological debate with Vice-President Richard Nixon on the premises. Mr. Gelb was opening his agency's new exhibition in Moscow "Design USA" at a time when the two countries are seeing other as partners rather than rivals, something that he pointed to in an interview with Radio Moscow reporter Sergey Goryachev.

[Begin recording] [Goryachev] In the changing times that we live in, Mr. Gelb, how have the objectives of the United States Information Agency changed toward the Soviet Union?

[Gelb] The attitude when I arrived at the USIA was that there were many new changes taking place in the Soviet Union and the attitude toward cooperation had never been higher. And what we were going to do, and this, I think, perhaps represents the major change, is to do everything we can possibly do to concentrate on expanding the interchange between your country, the Soviet Union, and the United States to make sure that we don't limit ourselves to only one segment of society.

We are now exchanging high school students, young boys and girls, college students, graduate students, we are now moving toward the exchange of officials in your government. I am sure we'll be exchanging people in the area of agriculture. We are exchanging the arts and we are exchanging in every area where we haven't even started to look. For example, we are now talking about major exchanges of journalists so that your journalists can see the way our free press operates without anybody telling them anything and leaving it up them. That's what I call the total opportunity being taken advantage of. [passage omitted]

[Goryachev] Soviets were for decades reluctant to allow more Soviet-American information exchanges, part of this being the fear that this will bring the U.S. ideology, if I may say so, to the Soviet Union. Now that you have spent a week in the Soviet Union, you have met a lot of decisionmakers, you met a Politburo member—what is your impression? Are they really opening up?

[Gelb] I see a lot of openness to new ideas. I see a lot of desire to solve problems. I see a de-emphasis of narrow ideological thinking. I see a focus on what can be done to help the people and they know that words will not help the Soviet people. That only deeds will be effective, and they know that the Soviet people are watching very closely; and I think that perestroyka, the new Deputies' Congress, all of these very important new moves are all designed to help solve the problems of the Soviet people. [passage omitted]

[Goryachev] Thank you very much. Radio Moscow will air this interview and thus contribute to the information exchange between the Soviet Union and the United States.

[Gelb] Thanks very much for having me on your program. [end recording]

China

Luyanov Continues 'Friendly Visit' to China

Visits Commune in Beijing Suburb

LD1209191189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 12 Sep 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by correspondent V. Kulikov in Beijing]

[Text] Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov arrived in Beijing today on an official, friendly visit at the head of a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation. The forthcoming meeting between representatives of the electoral bodies of power of the USSR and China is an important trend in the constructive dialogue, the purpose of which is to deepen mutual understanding and cooperation between our countries—cooperation as both equal partners and good neigbors. This was stated in a statement for journalists made by Comrade Lukyanov on his arrival in Beijing. This was reaffirmed literally from the first meeting on Chinese soil. It was held at a farm in one of Beijing's suburbs which is named The Commune of Sino-Soviet Friendship. Created in 1958, the farm carries in its name the word commune, an echo of those years. Today this is a vigorous and modern farm where the laws of the reform being carried out in China operate—financial autonomy and family contracting—where small and medium-sized enterprises, hotels and restaurants amalgamate into a single structure, and production activity is implemented by team financial autonomy units.

The deputies showed interest in the farm, and Comrade (Uyu Chan), chairman of the commune, managed to answer the visitors' questions. They were also interested in the commune's incomes, price fixing and the correlation between market regulations and the plan, the battle against wage leveling; in a word, the same problems which concern the electorate in the USSR today.

We are entering the international market, too, says the commune's chairman, and we are selling some of our products to the USSR. We are ready to expand these mutually advantageous ties.

The Soviet parliamentarians' first working day in Beijing was crammed to the full. There was a visit to the House-Museum of Song Qingling, an eminent public and political figure of China and the wife of Sun Yat Sen, the celebrated Chinese revolutionary whom Lenin described as a democrat, full of heroism and nobility. Song Qingling left a vivid and noticable mark on the history of the Chinese revolution. She was an honorary chairman of the PRC, chairman of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Society and a great friend of our country.

[Video shows Lukyanov descending aircraft steps and being welcomed by Chinese officials; meeting in commune farm attended by Lukyanov; shot of farm from moving vehicle; Lukyanov and entourage seated at long table laden with apples; walkabout in farm, people working; photo of Sun Yat Sen and wife and other photos]

[Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1630 GMT on 12 September in a similar report adds the following information: "Summing up the results of first meetings and conversations with PRC comrades, Comrade Lukyanov stressed that they showed once again the mutual usefulness of the further development of Soviet-Chinese dialogue and the strengthening of cooperation in all the areas of our life. The delegation is to have new meetings, both here in Beijing and in Shanghai and Wuhan which the Soviet parliamentarians will visit."]

Addresses Reception in Beijing

LD1209212289 Moscow World Service in English 2010 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] A Soviet parliamentary delegation is paying a friendly visit to China. Vice President Anatoliy Lukyanov leads the delegation. He said this at a reception in Beijing: We're convinced Soviet-Chinese relations must be those of stable, neighborly, and equitable cooperation and mutually enriching and friendly communication. Both nations want this. The meetings and discussions Mikhail Gorbachev had with Chinese leaders showed this during his official visit to China last May. That visit produced a real breakthrough and qualitative shift in Soviet-Chinese relations —a shift that meets the wishes of both nations.

The road toward this normalization has been far from easy. Both sides had to [words indistinct], responsibility and persistence to cope with the past problems. As a Chinese proverb goes: It is difficult to open a door that hides the good, and it's difficult to close a door that hides the bad. This has now been done by common effort. It was noted at the Soviet-Chinese summit that relations between our two countries were entering into a new stage, one that cannot be connected with a revival of the relations of the fifties, and that must, at the same time, prevent a repetition of the confrontation of the sixties and seventies.

These will be new relations, relations that reflect the changes that have taken place both in our two countries and on the world scene, relations that lean on the generally accepted principles of modern international communication.

Of paramount significance is the understanding expressed at the Soviet-Chinese summit that all communist parties are equal and independent, that every socialist nation has the right to its own model of socialism, and that nobody knows the absolute truth or can dictate to others.

On changes, Anatoliy Lukyanov said their ways and forms had remained every country's internal affairs. Neither attempts at teaching lessons to others nor the copying of anybody's experience without due account for national peculiarities can lead to anything good. Anatoliy Lukyanov pointed out the discussions Soviet members of parliament and their Chinese colleagues had begun in Beijing had shown mutual interest in a further dialogue and closer cooperation between the two countries.

Begins Talks With Peng Chong

LD1309043989 Moscow TASS in English 0421 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] Beijing September 13 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Gennadiy Krivosheyev and Andrey Kirillov:

The delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which is on an official friendly visit in China, has begun talks in Beijing. It is led by Anatoliy Lukyanov, alternate member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and first vice-president of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

At the House of People's Meetings the Soviet parliamentarians were welcomed by Peng Chong, vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of China's National People's Congress.

The Soviet delegation laid a wreath to the People's Heroes Monument today.

Lukyanov, Peng Chong Discuss Normalization

LD1309102389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0850 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] Beijing, 13 Sep [TASS]—The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation which is here and is headed by A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has held talks with leading workers of the Chinese National People's Congress (CNPC). The guests were warmly welcomed in the Great Hall of the People by Peng Chong, vice chairman of the CNPC Standing Committee.

During a detailed conversation, which took place in a friendly atmosphere, it was stressed that the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations is in the long-term fundamental interests of the peoples of both countries, who cherish feelings of friendship and respect for each other. It will make a weighty contribution to the cause of improving the climate in our planet, and to strengthening stability in the Asian continent and in the world as a whole.

The development and improvement of ties by means of the elected bodies of state power, both central and local, are of ever-increasing importance for deepening mutual understanding and trust between the two countries and peoples. It is important that the two great neighboring peoples should know more about each other, about the problems facing Soviet and Chinese society during perestroyka and the reforms and in their work in improving socialism, said A.I. Lukyanov.

It was noted that the two countries are currently faced with an important task: to work actively to see the understandings reached during the summit level meeting in May of this year should be translated into the concrete practical language of broad constructive cooperation in the most varied fields. The highest representative bodies of power of both countries, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the CNPC, have an important role in this process. The two sides expressed their intention of deepening the political dialogue between the two countries, and noted the usefulness of comparing views and positions on the most important problems of the current time and the pressing issues of socialist construction.

The PRC parliamentarians listened with lively interest to a detailed account of the main elements of the restructuring or the economic and political systems of the USSR. The Chinese colleagues acquainted their guests with the way in which the policy of the modernization of China is going, and told of the reforms that had been carried out and those that are planned. During a lively exchange of opinions the idea was expressed on both sides that there is no single model for all for the building of socialism. Each people decides its own fate, determines its priorities and the depth of its transformations, creatively applying theory in the actual conditions of their country.

Yakovlev, Zhu Liang Talk; Zhu Liang Departs

LD1209215689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1656 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 12 Sep (TASS)—Zhu Liang, member of the CPC Central Committee, head of the International Liaison Department of the CPC Central Committee has been in the USSR as head of the delegation of CPC workers at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

Zhu Liang was received by Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politbureau, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

At talks in the CPSU Central Committee's International Department there was discussion and agreement on the basic directions of ties between the CPSU and the CPC for 1989-1990.

The Chinese delegation had conversations in the Socioeconomic and State and Law Departments of the CPSU Central Committee on topical problems of perestroyka in the USSR, visited the Social Sciences Academy of the CPSU Central Committee, and also made a trip to the Latvian SSR where a meeting took place with J.J. Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee.

Zhu Liang left Moscow on 12 September.

Sino-Soviet Rail Link To Be Completed in 1992

OW1309022589 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 27 Aug 89

[Station observer Dmitriyev interview with Isingirin, deputy minister of railways; from the "Along the Road of Friendship and Cooperation" program]

[Excerpts] Listeners, the following is a short report by station observer Dmitriyev on the construction of a new railway link in the western section of the Soviet-Chinese border. He had a conversation with Isingirin, deputy minister of railways.

The station observer interviewed Comrade Isingirin for two reasons: First, cargo turnover between the two countries markedly increased recently, and the problem of transporting foreign trade cargo by rail has become acute. Therefore, both sides considered it necessary to build a new railway link. Second, Comrade Isingirin visited China and discussed the problem with Chinese colleagues. Therefore, he is the most suitable person to discuss this topic. [passage omitted]

Comrade Isingarin said: In 1985 China resumed railway construction from Urumqi to the border. Construction is now underway near (Kuchun) City. The new railway will pass Alashankou and link (Kuchun) with the Friendship Station on the Soviet border. This line is about 105 km in length. During our recent tour of China, we saw that construction was underway there. On our part, there is work to be done. The 300-km long railway between Aktogai and the Friendship Station, which had suspended operations for nearly 30 years, needs repairs.

Comrade Isingarin said in conclusion: We reached an agreement with China on starting regular international train service between Alma-ata, capital of Kazakhstan, and Urumqi, capital of Xinjiang, in the second half of 1992. This means that there will be another railway linking our two nations. This new friendship road will replace the ancient silk road used by caravans.

Northeast Asia

Moscow Economic Talks Concluded With Japan

PM1209093989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Aug 89 Moscow Edition p 3

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] The 12th joint conference of the Soviet-Japanese and Japanese-Soviet Committees for Economic Cooperation was held in Moscow 23-25 August.

The conversion of military production which has begun in the USSR opens up fundamentally new opportunities for business cooperation between the USSR and Western countries, including Japan. V.L. Malkevich, chairman of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry Presidium and head of the Soviet delegation, declared this at a news conference on the results of the conference.

He named regional cooperation in the Soviet Far East and the creation of consumer goods production there with the participation of Japanese capital as promising areas of business ties with Japan discussed at the Moscow meeting.

During the meeting of the two countries' businessmen great attention was devoted to joint enterprise. V.L. Malkevich acknowledged that this form of business ties is still developing sluggishly with Japan. The explanation for this phenomenon, the chairman of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry Presidium believes, should be sought in the fact that the terms for creating joint ventures in the USSR which have been of interest to Americans and Europeans are not yet attractive enough for Japanese businessmen. This means that new approaches are needed.

Soviet-Japanese Economic Symposium Ends 6 Sep

OW1309042889 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] A symposium on economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and Japan, which was held in Vladivostok, came to a close on 6 September. Major themes at the symposium were the development of economic exchanges and joint venture businesses between Japan and the Soviet Union, and the issue of establishimg free economic zones in the Soviet Union.

Japanese businessmen attending the symposium expressed great interest in the fact that the Soviet Union plans to establish a free economic zone in Nakhodka. The biggest port is located in Nakhodka and is termed the east gate of the Siberian railway. Soviet economists said that foreign investments are required to produce facilities to be used for fish processing, ship repair, and timber processing in the free economic zone of Nakhodka. There are plans to process raw materials. It will be highly possible for future enterprises in the zone to cooperate with other Soviet enterprises in other areas and various foreign enterprises. The formation of the concern will be recognized to manage and control the economic mechanism in the zone. The free economic zone near Nakhodka is not the sole free economic zone in the Soviet Union.

Academicians at the Far Eastern Department of the Soviet Academy of Sciences are continuously working on plans to establish another free economic zone near (?Posyet). The zone in Posyet is expected to become a new point for economic exchanges with China and a recreation and tourist center in the future. The center will be used by people in the Soviet Far Eastern region and other people from neighboring foreign nations. Total value of trade between the Soviet Union and Japan in 1988 reached about $6 billion, a record high level. Soviet and Japanese participants, including Professor

Kazuo Ogawa, director of the Academic Research Institute of the Soviet-East Europe Trade Society and chief of the Japanese delegation to the symposium, expressed their firm belief that the rise in the trade level between the two countries depends largely on the growth of export capability on the part of the Soviet Union and development in the Soviet Far Eastern region. Many Soviet enterprises and joint venture enterprises, which have been granted rights to make business inroads into world markets under economic reform, are working to find new export possibilities. China, Japan, the United States, the North Korea, Vietnam, South Korea, Singapore, Australia, and other Asian and Pacific nations have expressed a great interest in cooperation with enterprises in the Soviet Far Eastern region and Siberia.

Commentator Views Japanese Minister's Kuriles Tour

OW1309081189 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 8 Sep 89

[By station commentator Yuritskiy]

[Text] Mizuno, the director general of the Japanese Management and Coordination Agency [MCA] inspected the Soviet Kuriles Islands from a nuclear-powered vessel on Monday [4 September]. Moscow Radio's commentator Yuritskiy wrote on the event as follows:

In principle, an inspection tour by a Japanese state minister of Hokkaido and the southern Kuriles is nothing spectacular. Senior Japanese officials have undertaken quite a number of such tours. However, Japanese officials have refrained from such trips for the past 18 months because it is well known that these only serve to provoke anti-Soviet sentiments in Japan and incite rightist groups to engage in extremist acts. Such things certainly are not desirable in the present situation in which positive developments have been achieved in Soviet-Japanese relations. However, it appears that at the present time the government and the leadership of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party [LDP] want to remind the people of the so-called territorial issue and that it is the issue that determines the fate of the Soviet-Japanese peace treaty; in other words, it is the issue that will determine the future of Soviet-Japanese exchanges.

On 3 September, more than 600 representatives of local LDP chapters gathered at party headquarters in Tokyo to discuss the territorial claims on the Soviet Union. During the meeting, LDP Secretary General Ozawa disclosed the party's intention to seek understanding of this issue in Japan and in foreign countries. This is noteworthy because it indicates that the LDP intends to inject an international character into the issue. There is a need to consider the meeting at LDP Headquarters and MCA Director General Mizuno's tour of the Kuriles in light of the talks that the Soviet Union and Japan are to hold at the deputy ministerial level next week.

It seems that the LDP is attempting to make up for a series of negative developments, such as the decline in the party's prestige in Japan and the lack of any remarkable achievement in Japanese diplomacy recently, by applying pressure on the Soviet Union. However, we must point out in this connection that such acts have not yielded the results sought by the conservative forces. On the contrary, it has only made more difficult the realization of positive developments in Soviet-Japanese dialogue, such as the activities of the working group on the peace treaty.

Japanese Military Budget, Expenditures Discussed

LD1309042989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0945 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Sergey Pravdin commentary, from the "International Diary" program, presented by Pavel Kasparov]

[Text] [Kasparov] The KYODO TSUSHIN information agency reports that in the new financial year the Japanese National Defense Agency is intending to spend more than 4 trillion yen, or more than U.S. $28.5 billion on military ends. This is a record sum for the whole of post-war Japanese history. If this expenditure is approved by parliament, then the growth of military allocations in the new financial year compared with the previous year will be 6.35 percent. In connection with this, it is impossible not to remember that the country's post-war constitution forbids expenditures on military goals in excess of 1 percent of the country's gross national products. So I asked by colleague, Sergey Pravdin, to comment on the KYODO report.

[Pravdin] You said: If parliament approves it. Judging from a report by the same KYODO TSUSHIN agency, the Japanese legislators most probably will approve this expenditure, and they will not be breaking the basic law of the country. For as you said, the Constitution forbids expenditures on military goals in excess of 1 percent of the gross national product. Only once in recent times has the Liberal-Democratic government tried to set a precedent for raising this 1 percent level. The response was extremely negative reactions from the majority of the countries of the Asia-Pacific region, and resolute protests from the peace-loving Japanese public.

The Japanese military department, taking this fact into consideration, does not dare create similar precedents again, but the fact is that Japan, as is well known, is the second great, capitalist power after the United States in terms of industry, and its economy—thanks to a number of conditions, both objective and subjective—is developing extremely favorably. The country's GNP increases each year, and moreover, figures are very sound. For this reason, military expenditure is growing rapidly in the Land of the Rising Sun, which in this respect has already passed many leading West European states.

I should say that Japan's increasing its military might is being encouraged by the United States in every possible way. The two most powerful capitalist powers are linked in the so-called security pact, which determines their close military and political cooperation. In the course of the recent top-level talks in Washington between Japan and the United States an agreement was reached to widen and deepen this cooperation. By the way, in this connection, the appetites of the Japanese military department has grown once more, and their planned allocations for the new financial year, which in Japan begins on 1 April, certainly are huge sums.

First of all, they will be spent on maintaining the Japanese Self-Defense forces, which, incidentally, were set up in breach of the country's post-war Constitution, which forbids the maintenance of an army. However, as military specialists—both U.S. and Japanese—admit, under the modest title of Self-Defense Forces hide excellently trained, superbly supplied, technically armed forces, which in terms of their strike capability surpasse the former Imperial Army many times over. Specialists consider that the present Japanese Army is one of the most powerful in the capitalist world. Although its present size is comparatively small—around 250,000 men—its regular forces, highly saturated with noncommissioned and commissioned officers, allows Japan to deploy armed forces of 2 million men in a very short time should the necessity arise.

The National Defense Agency works out annual and 5-year plans for the development of the Army, a special program for increasing Japan's Navy is being implemented, and large numbers of command and staff exercises and maneuvers are carried out regularly. Some of these are on Japan's northern-most island, Hokkaido. Special importance is attached to joint military training with the United States. The Pentagon has more than 100 military bases on the territory of Japan. What is more, in its new budget the Japanese military directorate intends expending almost 17 percent more on their maintenance than last year.

Independent development by Japan of the latest types of weapons will occupy second place in the increased expenditures of the new Japanese military budget. In justification of this obviously excessive increase in military might, Japanese official propaganda uses two far-from-fresh stereotypes: First of all, it maintains that the military might of Japan will correspond only to its economic power; second, it employs the supposed, as-yet-not-completely-and-finally-destroyed threat from the north.

Of course one can, as they say, always find a reason if one wishes, but how will Japan's rapidly increasing military power conform with its present attempts to play a more substantial role in the foreign political arena, where just now, as is well known, new political thinking is becoming ever stronger; where the desire of various states to get rid of the burden of arms, including nuclear arms, is growing; and where attempts are being made to solve today's worst regional conflicts around the negotiating table? As the newspaper MAINICH writes: The efforts by certain parts of Japan's ruling circles to turn Japan into a great military power go against the grain of mankind's most important goals.

Repatriation of Sakhalin's Koreans Examined

SK1309085089 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] Dear listeners: According to a source concerning the ROK [hanguk], the Japanese imperialist colonial authorities which were occupying the Korean peninsula forcibly brought some 1.5 million Korean people to Japan during World War II. Some (?150,000) of them were employed as workers in southern Sakhalin, in the Far East, which then belonged to Japan.

Since the Soviet Army liberated Sakhalin in 1945, the settlers, mostly from the southern provinces of Korea, remained in Sakhalin. Now the Koreans there number some 40,000, many of whom are still people without nationality.

Until recently, they could not know anything about their relatives in the ROK, despite their great efforts to hear news about them through [word indistinct] and publications. They also (?requested our Radio Moscow to find their relatives).

When Kim Yong-sam, president of the Reunification Democratic Party of the ROK, visited the Soviet Union last June, the issue of the fate of the Korean residents in Sakhalin was raised. President Kim Yong-sam, at a press conference on the result of his visit to the Soviet Union, mentioned this issue as follows:

[Begin Kim Yong-sam recording] I will comment on the question asked by a reporter of [unidentified paper]. As for the issue of repatriation of the Korean residents in Sakhalin, I think it is very important from the humanitarian point of view. We treated it as an important issue during our talks here. The Korean residents in Sakhalin have a very unhappy past. Most of them are in their seventies. They will soon die. Therefore, they have neither the energy to work, nor any opportunity or ability to do anything. They are just waiting to die. There are only a few of these people. They number some (?200). They come mostly from Seoul, Pusan, Kwangju, and Chonju. They want to die in their native place. I told the Soviet people who we had talks with, that they should listen, from a humanitarian standpoint, to their ardent desire to die in their native place and to be buried beside the tombs of their ancestors.

We had a lengthy discussion on this issue, the Soviet side took it seriously, and they are in the process of reviewing the situation. It was decided that the Soviet Union will officially inform me of the result before I return to the ROK. [words indistinct] [end recording]

Since there are no diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the ROK, non-governmental sectors of the two countries can make contacts. Red Cross societies have (?maintained such relations) for decades. A willingness to make direct contacts to resolve the issue concerning separated families was confirmed in the (?early August) message exchanged between the Soviet and ROK Red Cross Societies. Our station reporter met and talked with (Aleksey Kristorovich), an official of the [word indistinct] General Bureau of the Soviet Red Cross Society Central Committee.

(Aleksey Kristorovich) pointed out that the Soviet and ROK Red Cross Societies have made contacts in international conferences for a long time. He went on to say:

The basic task of the (?Soviet Union) is to find families of ROK (?residents) living in the Soviet Union. [passage indistinct] We only receive [word indistinct] from Soviet citizens and send them to the ROK Red Cross. We do not directly handle the issue of sending Soviet citizens to foreign countries or receiving foreigners. [passage indistinct]

The ROK Red Cross Society and our Red Cross Society had not made direct contacts up until a little while ago, and therefore, all such contacts had been made via third countries.

(Aleksey Kristorovich) said that Japan had played such a role until recently. He went on to say:

Because there are no diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the ROK, ROK residents in the Soviet Union had received the required documents, gone to Japan, and met with their relatives. They had not been able to go to the ROK or invite their relatives to the Soviet Union.

What change has taken place in this respect?

In response to this question by the reporter, (Aleksey Kristorovich) said:

Today, the relations between our country and the ROK have been [words indistinct] without intermediaries. Therefore, our countrymen began to visit the ROK without any hindrance. I believe that such visits will be made on a regular basis. [Word indistinct], some 100 ROK residents in the Soviet Union visited the ROK, and almost 20 of them were allowed to stay in their (?historic) fatherland.

So said (Aleksey Kristorovich). Such contacts have so far been made on an individual basis. However, an official delegation of the ROK Red Cross Society led by its president, Mr Kim Sang-hyop, will soon visit Moscow. It is expected that during his visit, the Soviet and ROK Red Cross societies will sign a [word indistinct] agreement to make such contacts on a regular basis.

This has been a program entitled "First Step to Cooperation Between the Soviet and ROK Red Cross Societies."

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Suharto-Led Delegation Concludes Talks, Visit

Shevardnadze, Alatas Meet

LD1209145589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1245 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 12 Sep (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and Ali Alatas, Indonesian foreign minister, had a meeting today within the framework of Indonesian President Suharto's official visit to the Soviet Union.

The ministers stressed the significant political results achieved during talks between M.S. Gorbachev and Suharto, and the fundamental importance of the statement signed by the heads of both states on the foundations of friendly relations and cooperation of the USSR and Indonesia for their future progress and the invigoration of interaction between both countries for the benefit of peace and security for all peoples. A mutually useful and businesslike exchange of views on a wide spectrum of questions was held. Having noted the importance of continuing political dialogue for promoting actively the whole complex of bilateral relations, E.A. Shevardnadze and A. Alatas declared that they intend to do everything possible to promote the implementation of the accords attained by the two countries' supreme leaders in Moscow.

A conversation was conducted on holding a number of events devoted to the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Indonesia in 1990.

Having examined the course of world events over the period that had elapsed since the last meeting between the foreign ministers of the USSR and Indonesia, the sides acsertained with satisfaction that positive tendencies still prevail in the development of the international situation: The process of warming up the political climate on earth is underway, mutual understanding and confidence are growing, and transition from confrontation to dialogue and cooperation is continuing. In the interlocutors' view, the process of disarmament should be invigorated and broad cooperation between states in resolving economic, ecological, and other topical present-day problems should be established for consolidating these tendencies and making them irreversible. Taking cognizance of the proximity or the coincidence of both sides' positions on the cardinal problems of the modern time, a mutual interest in the further build-up of Soviet-Indonesian interaction was expressed, in the interests of consolidating universal peace and international security, in particular, at the forthcoming 44th UN General Assembly session.

A. Alatas informed E.A. Shevardnadze of the decisions adopted at the 9th Conference of the Heads of State and Government of the Nonaligned Countries in Belgrade. A high evaluation was given from the Soviet side of the results of the Belgrade forum, and the growth of the contribution of the Nonaligned Movement to the solution of key international problems and the new quality in the activity of this movement were noted. The new initiatives and decisions of the Belgrade conference were heard with approval in the Soviet Union.

During their discussion of the situation in the Asian-Pacific region the main attention of the ministers was concentrated on the prospects for a Cambodian settlement in the light of the results of the session of the international conference on Cambodia which ended in Paris at the end of August, and which was attended by the Soviet Union and Indonesia.

In the opinion of the sides, the holding of a conference on Cambodia signified an essential stage in the talks process on a settlement to the Cambodian problem. The intra-Khmer dialogue and the talks in a regional format have now been complemented with a search for a solution on a broad international level. A mechanism has been created designed to play a role in finding a compromise path toward an all-embracing political settlement. The ministers came out in favor of ensuring the continuity and dynamism of the talks process at all levels.

E.A. Shevardnadze expressed a high opinion of the efforts of Indonesia, which is the host country of informal meetings on Cambodia and cochairman of the international conference in Paris, in the cause of unblocking the conflict. The readiness of the Soviet Union was expressed to cooperate with Indonesia and with other states to contribute in all ways to the achievement of this aim in the interests of the Cambodian people, and of peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

The meeting of the ministers took place in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding.

Suharto Seen Off by Ibragimov

LD1209224789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Sep 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today the official visit to the Soviet Union by President Suharto of the Republic of Indonesia ended. In the St George Hall of the Great Kremlin Palace, an official farewell ceremony was held for the guests from Indonesia. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Raisa Maksimovna Gorbachev bade a warm farewell to the president of Indonesia and his wife. [Video shows the Gorbachevs and the Suhartos standing and sitting in the St George Hall]

At Sheremetyevo Airport Suharto was seen off by Comrade Ibragimov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and other officials. The airport was decorated with the state flags of Indonesia and the Soviet Union. A guard of honor had formed up on the airfield. The head of the honor guards gave the report. The band played the national anthems of the two countries. The farewell ceremony for the president of Indonesia ended in a march past by the honor guard. At the steps to the aircraft Comrade Ibragimov warmly bid President Suharto and his wife farewell. [video shows Suharto at the airport with Ibragimov and the farewell ceremony]

Communique Issued on Visit

PM1209210889 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Sep 89 Second Edition pp 1, 4

["Soviet-Indonesian Joint Communique"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] President Suharto of the Republic of Indonesia, accompanied by Mrs Suharto and a delegation of high-ranking officials, was in the Soviet Union 7 through 12 September 1989 on an official visit at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

In addition to Moscow, the lofty guests visited Tashkent, Samarkand, and Leningrad and familiarized themselves with various aspects of the Soviet people's life.

The president laid a wreath at the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin wall. A wreath was also laid at the Piskarevskoye Cemetery in Leningrad.

Talks and a productive exchange of views on questions of Soviet-Indonesian relations and also regional and international problems of mutual interest were held in a spirit of goodwill, openness, and mutual understanding between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Suharto.

Participating in the talks were, on the Soviet side, E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister; M.I. Ibragimov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet Presidium; L.A. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations; A.S. Chernyayev, assistant to the CPSU Central Committee general secretary; M.A. Moiseyev, chief of staff of the USSR Armed Forces and USSR first deputy defense minister; I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister; V.M. Semenov, USSR ambassador to Indonesia; and L.A. Chizhov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Pacific and Southeast Asian Countries Administration; and, on the Indonesian side, R. Prawiro, coordinating minister for economics, finance, industry, and development control; A. Alatas, foreign minister; Murdiono, minister of state-secretary [ministr-gosudarstvennyy sekretar]; General T. Sutrisno, commander in chief of the armed forces; T. Kuntarso, Foreign Ministry director general for foreign economic questions; and D. Djani, Indonesian ambassador to the USSR.

There were also separate meetings between E.A. Shevardnadze and A. Alatas; USSR Defense Minister Army General D. Yazov and M.A. Moiseyev and Try Sutrisno; and K.F. Katushev and R. Prawiro.

The two heads of state signed a Statement on the Basic Principles of Friendly Relations and Cooperation between the USSR and the Republic of Indonesia.

In their presence K.F. Katushev and R. Prawiro also signed the protocol of the first session of the Soviet-Indonesian Mixed Commission on Trade and Economic Cooperation.

During their talks M.S. Gorbachev informed Suharto of the tasks in the political, economic, social, spiritual, and other fields that the Soviet people are resolving at the present stage of the renewal of Soviet society. It was stressed that the ambitiousness of the domestic policy tasks requires an appropriate [adekvatnyy] foreign policy course based on the new political thinking.

For his part Suharto spoke about Indonesia's achievements and national development problems at the present stage. The president reaffirmed Indonesia's immutable adherence to its independent and active foreign policy aimed at safeguarding peace throughout the world and justice and equal prosperity for all through the expansion and strengthening of friendly cooperation with all countries irrespective of their sociopolitical system. He expressed the view that perestroyka in the USSR is exerting a favorable influence on the situation in the world.

The participants in the talks expressed satisfaction that in recent years bilateral Soviet-Indonesian relations have been steadily developing along an upward curve and noted that President Suharto's current official visit to the USSR is the most significant manifestation of this process. The sides reaffirmed their intention to continue to develop Soviet-Indonesian dialogue and broaden and deepen ties and contacts between the two countries. M.S. Gorbachev and Suharto expressed confidence that the implementation of the decisions adopted at the first session of the Soviet-Indonesian Mixed Commission on Trade and Economic Cooperation held in Moscow on the eve of the visit will promote the expansion of mutually advantageous cooperation between the two countries.

Analyzing the situation in the world, the sides advocated the adoption by all members of the international community of further measures to consolidate the positive trends in world politics and increase their scale and effectiveness. In this context they were unanimous about the need to build up Soviet-Indonesian collaboration at various multilateral forums in the interests of strengthening universal peace and international security on the basis of the coincidence or proximity of the two countries' positions on key problems of the present time.

Convinced that the elimination of the threat of nuclear war is the main condition for preserving human civilization, the Soviet and Indonesian leaders advocated the speediest conclusion between the USSR and the United States of an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms, which would make it possible to involve in the disarmament process other states possessing a considerable military potential.

Advocating an all-embracing ban on nuclear weapon tests, the sides expressed support for the proposal to make all-embracing the 1963 Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space, and Under Water. The Soviet Union welcomed the initiative of a group of countries including Indonesia for convening a conference of the parties to the aforementioned treaty to discuss the question of making the necessary amendment to it to this end.

Expressing concern at the proliferation of nuclear technology around the world, the two heads of state spoke resolutely in favor of unswerving compliance with the nuclear weapons nonproliferation regime and urged countries which have not yet acceded to the nonproliferation treaty to do so. They stressed the importance of concentrating efforts on carefully preparing a conference to examine the operation of the treaty in 1990.

Regarding nuclear-free zones as an important disarmament measure aimed at reducing the threat of nuclear war and narrowing the geographical area of the spread of nuclear weapons, the sides welcome the creation of such zones in various parts of the world. The USSR reaffirmed its positive attitude to the plans for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Southeast Asia.

The USSR and Indonesia called for the speediest conclusion of an all-embracing, global, and effectively verifiable convention on the complete prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons.

Noting with satisfaction the galvanization of activity to settle regional conflicts by peaceful means, the sides agreed to continue to promote the political resolution of conflict situations in accordance with the norms of international law and the provisions of the UN Charter.

Expressing unshakable solidarity with the Palestinian people's just struggle, the two heads of state were united in the opinion that an all-embracing, just settlement of the Near East crisis can be achieved only on the basis of Israel's withdrawal from all the Arab and Palestinian territories occupied since 1967 and the recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and the creation of their own state, as well as the right to independence, sovereignty, and security of all states in the region. In this connection they came out in favor of the convocation of an international peace conference on the Near East under UN auspices with the participation on an equal basis of all the directly interested parties, as well as the five permanent members of the UN Security Council.

Discussing the situation in and around Afghanistan, the Soviet Union and Indonesia called on all sides strictly to fulfill the Geneva agreements. They came out in favor of the speediest ending of the armed conflict in Afghanistan through national reconciliation, the promotion of dialogue between the warring parties, and the formation of a broadly based government.

Examining the situation in southern Africa, the sides expressed satisfaction in connection with the progress in the decolonization of Namibia. It was reaffirmed that the prime cause of the persisting tension in the region—the apartheid system in South Africa, which is condemned worldwide—should be dismantled, so that a democratic, nonracist society can be built in its place.

President Suharto briefed M.S. Gorbachev on the results of the Ninth Conference of Heads of State and Government of Nonaligned Countries, which recently ended in Belgrade. The Soviet side welcomed the declaration and decisions of this conference, which constitute an important contribution by the Nonaligned Movement to the resolution of the key questions of today. The Soviet head of state stated that the USSR has an interest in the steady continuation of the growth in the constructive role of the Nonaligned Movement as a most important factor in world politics.

The Soviet Union and Indonesia note with satisfaction that in the Asian and Pacific region, to which they belong, trends toward the improvement of the political climate are gradually gaining strength, and are expressed in the intensification of constructive dialogue, the improvement of interstate relations, and the stepping up of efforts toward the political settlement of regional conflicts. At the same time they expressed a common opinion on the need for the states of the region to make collective and individual efforts further to lessen tension through the peaceful resolution of all seats of regional conflict and the expansion of political dialogue and mutually beneficial economic cooperation.

The USSR reaffirmed its commitment to the Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk course aimed at strengthening peace and security in the Asian and Pacific region and developing mutually beneficial and equal cooperation and broad dialogue on these questions with all interested states.

President Suharto noted the generally positive response in the countries of the region, including Indonesia, to these new political approaches by the Soviet Union to the Asian and Pacific region.

The USSR and Indonesia reaffirmed their firm support for the aims proclaimed in the 1971 UN Declaration on transforming the Indian Ocean into a peace zone. They called for the convening, no later than 1990, of an international conference on the Indian Ocean in accordance with the latest UN General Assembly resolution on this question.

Examining the situation in Southeast Asia, the sides noted that, although the Paris conference on Cambodia was unable to achieve an all-embracing settlement of the conflict in Cambodia, it did make progress in the formulation of the necessary components of such a settlement. Noting that the conference's work has now halted, the two sides reaffirmed the hope expressed by its participants, that all the interested parties will step up their efforts to achieve an all-embracing, just, and lasting settlement.

The Soviet Union and Indonesia share the confidence that an all-embracing settlement of the Cambodian conflict will make a positive contribution to the process of ensuring harmony, stability, and security in Southeast Asia and pave the way for the creation in that region of a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality. The Soviet Union reaffirmed its principled line on the all-around expansion of friendly ties with the ASEAN states.

The two heads of state expressed concern over the continuing deterioration in the situation in world economic relations, which has a particularly adverse effect on the economy of the developing countries. They share the opinion that it is necessary to step up efforts and adopt concrete measures to overcome the growing socioeconomic gap between developed and developing states. They also believe that in order to eliminate the disparities and inequalities that still prevail in the world economy and in international economic relations, it is urgently necessary to establish a global dialogue aimed at setting up a new international economic order based on equality and equal rights and on the true interdependence and mutual benefit of all states.

The sides expressed satisfaction with the results of the talks, which took place in the atmosphere of amicability, sincerity, and friendship that is characteristic of the present stage in Soviet-Indonesian relations.

Confidence was expressed that the results of the bilateral discussion at the highest level, as well as the documents adopted during the visit, will give new impetus to the development of bilateral cooperation, as well as the expansion of the two countries' collaboration in the international arena.

President Suharto expressed profound gratitude to M.S. Gorbachev and the government and people of the USSR for the warm reception and cordial hospitality accorded to him and the members of his delegation.

President Suharto conveyed to M.S. Gorbachev an invitation to pay an official visit to Indonesia. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

Moscow TV on U.S. Southeast Asian Bases

OW1309014389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1015 GMT 12 Sep 89

[From the "World Today" program, presented by Aleksandr Zholkver]

[Text] President Suharto, speaking in Moscow, reiterated that Indonesia, together with other member states of the Association of South East Asian Nations, is fully resolved to make this region of the globe a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality.

One cannot but see that this is obstructed by the accumulation of gigantic arm stocks in this region, and the presence there of the largest U.S. military bases, which have nuclear arms as well. It is known that these bases are mainly located in the Philippines.

Not only the Philippine public, but governmental circles as well, including President Corazon Aquino herself, have lately been speaking against extending the agreement on these bases, the term of which will expire in 1991. In connection with this, the Pentagon has started to look for places in other Asian countries to relocate its bases. In particular, the possibility of the relocation of U.S. warships and military aircraft to Singapore has been mooted.

It is noteworthy that Indonesia immediately spoke against these plans. Currently, the joint statement signed in Moscow emphasizes that the Soviet Union and Indonesia see foreign military bases merely as a temporary measure, and stand for their eventual elimination.

Parliamentary Group Ends Visit to Australia

LD0909102389 Moscow TASS in English 1001 GMT 9 Sep 89

[Text] Sydney September 9 TASS—A Soviet parliamentary delegation has completed its official visit to Australia, where it was staying at the invitation of Australia's Parliament.

Delegation head Nikolay Dementey, president of the Soviet Republic of Belorussia, told Soviet reporters that the visit had evoked interest in Australia. He pointed to the favourable attitude to Soviet initiatives in the Asia-Pacific region, set forth by President Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk and confirmed at the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

The delegation's meetings in Australia showed that active Soviet-Australian cooperation in the political and economic spheres is quite possible and that both sides are interested in this.

The visit fully justified hopes pinned on it from the viewpoint of deepening ties and achieving more confidence and mutual understanding between the two countries and peoples.

Australian officials said that suspicion of the Soviet Union, which has existed for years, has not been fully removed but that the Soviet delegation's visit has helped reduce it.

Dementey said that the experience of Australian Parliament's work was very interesting for the new Supreme Soviet to the USSR and the legislatures of constituent republics.

He meant, above all, organisational aspects, office work, technical equipment and methods of preparations for hearings.

Political Solution to Cambodia Issue Viewed

BK1309032889 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Station observer Viktor Valentinov commentary]

[Text] As you know, the Paris international conference on Cambodia did not find a solution to the regional conflict in Asia. Many questions have been asked. One important question is: Will the Cambodian people be able to maintain peace and avoid civil war?

Our observer, Comrade Viktor Valentinov, has this comment:

It is no coincidence that people have raised question about the possibility of the new flames of conflict as Vietnamese troops are beginning to pull out of Cambodian territory as promised. The question of civil war would not arise if the Vietnamese troops remained in Cambodia. The Khmer opposition groups came to this conclusion on the basis of their personal experiences in which they consistently failed to violate Cambodia's border defended by Vietnamese troops. However, Vietnam's wish has always been to find a political solution, not a solution through the use of armed force. And, living up to their pledge, Vietnam has decided to complete its troop withdrawal on 26 September. The Cambodian Government agreed with Vietnam on this decision, and it has assumed the task of defending its own country.

In fact, Phnom Penh sees itself forced to shoulder this charge because, to date, no agreement on national reconciliation has been finalized. The parties involved in the Paris talks did not reach any accord and the Khmer opposition groups did not accept any cease-fire. Under such a circumstance, Phnom Penh's worry is about peace. The defense of the national frontier is now a big concern of the Cambodian Government. But it is not the major one. The major concern is political in nature, as pointed out in the outcome of Comrade Chairman Heng Samrin's visit to Hanoi. His speech in Hanoi as well as the Vietnam-Cambodia joint statement reflected the desire to continue holding political talks with the Khmer opposition groups and other involved parties. The objective is to find a comprehensive solution to the conflict.

Phnom Penh described the events which prevented this objective from being reached politically—that is, through negotiations as military solution became unacceptable. There existed a possibility of solving the problem politically. The Cambodian party fancied that the talks would result in a reasonable reconciliation with the opposition groups and external forces. But reconciliation must be a reasonable one. Phnom Penh could not be forced to accept a solution that would open the door for the genocidal gang to return to power in Cambodia. But this was just the kind of solution that the Paris conference participants hoped to see achieved. To keep the Khmer Rouge as the biggest and most powerful force of the opposition groups and let them attack the government forces by using Samdech Sihanouk and his group as the smokescreen was the essence of the solution they wanted to impose on Phnom Penh in the name of reconciliation.

Should we say that the new flames would be the only result of this political solution? After analyzing the situation in detail, the Cambodian and Vietnamese leadership took a common stance. In the joint statement on the outcome of Comrade Chairman Heng Samrin's recent visit to Hanoi, it was stressed that efforts aimed at preventing the Polpotists from igniting a civil war and restoring their genocidal regime in Cambodia have demonstrated the most specific task to be fulfilled for the sake of a correct and reasonable solution to the Cambodian problem.

Vietnamese Leaders Thank Gorbachev, Ryzhkov

LD0809230189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1658 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 8 Sep (TASS)—It is reported here today that the leaders of Vietnam have sent a telegram to Mikhail Gorbachev and Nikolay Ryzhkov expressing sincere gratitude for their kind congratulations on the national holiday of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam [SRV], the 44th anniversary of the proclamation of the country's independence.

The telegram expresses confidence that the relations of friendship and all-round cooperation between the Soviet Union and Vietnam will continue to grow stronger and develop in accordance with the policy of the CPSU and the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] and of the USSR and the SRV, toward restructuring and renewal.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Government Troops Win Battle for Khowst

PM1309094789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA "Press Service" report: "Government Forces' Successes in the Battle for Khowst"]

[Text] "The Afghan Army has won the battle for Khowst, recapturing all the key positions from opposition detachments on the approaches to the city. The battle for Khowst is over," this statement was made by General 'Abdulhaq 'Ulumi, head of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA] Central Committee Armed Forces Department, at a press conference for foreign journalists in Kabul 7 September.

According to his words, the 2-week assault which the mujahidin launched against the besieged city ended in total failure. The general admitted that a just few days ago the position of the defenders of Khowst was still precarious. At the end of last week the opposition forces had pushed back the government troops and come within 5 km of the city. At one time they even succeeded in surrounding the airport which is of vital importance for Khowst, cut off, as it is, from the outside world. However, despite desperate attempts, the mujahidin did not succeed in developing their success. The garrison seized the initiative and, as a result of several counterattacks, recaptured the lost positions and stabilized the situation.

'Ulumi's statement has not yet been directly confirmed by independent sources. However, there is circumstantial evidence that the reports about the Afghan forces' successes at Khowst are close to the truth. Even an analysis of the combat operations bulletins, which are regularly issued by opposition sources, indicates that the mujahidin did far from brilliantly in recent days. The triumphant reports of the first week of the assault have been replaced by curt statements noting that the "attempts of the attackers to build on their successes remain inconclusive." According to Western agency observers, the mujahidin will end their active offensive near Khowst in the next few days, confining themselves to shelling the airport and the Afghan Army's defensive positions.

The impression is formed that having experienced bitter disillusionment in the battle for Khowst, the mujahidin are preparing to switch the main assault to the country's second biggest city—Qandahar.

A large column, comprising more than 1,000 trucks and 200 tanks, carrying goods for the besieged garrison is on its way to the city. According to mujahidin claims, should the column reach Qandahar, the city's defenders will be provided with arms and munitions for the next 6 months. "If we prevent these goods from reaching Qandahar, the garrison will capitulate sooner or later," one of the opposition field commanders told an AFP correspondent in Pakistan.

According to a Kabul government spokesman, the first trucks of the column which stretches over many kilometers have already reached Qandahar. At the same time the mujahidin claim that the main part of the column is still 140 km west of the city and is sustaining tremendous losses every day as a result of continuous attacks. If one is to believe the opposition sources, last week alone the column which is heading for Qandahar lost 108 tanks and trucks. Kabul denies these reports stating that during this period while the column covered 700 km, the mujahidin managed to burn only one tank and two trucks.

Rebels Fail To Take Herat Province City

PM1209145789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Sep 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Afghanistan: Situation in Country"]

[Text] At Sunday's briefing in Kabul, Nabi Amani, head of the Afghan Foreign Ministry Press Center, denied Western mass media reports that the opposition has allegedly established control over the western Afghan city of Shindand in Herat Province.

Rebels have indeed, he said, attempted an offensive on the city, concentrating their forces in the population center of Char-Makhal [name as transliterated]; however, they were dislodged from there by Afghan Army units. As a result of ground and air strikes 120 extremists were killed and a considerable quantity of weapons and munitions seized. Shindand and the Afghan Air Force base nearby are under no threat at present, N. Amani stressed.

Some 24 villages have come under the control of government troops in the same province after an operation to "clean up" the Pashtun Zarghun area; 20 rebels were killed and many weapons were seized.

Varennikov Comments on Afghanistan Situation

LD1209124489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0934 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] [no dateline as received] In connection with the recent development of events around Afghanistan, TASS political observer Yevgeniy Babenko asked Army General V.I. Varennikov, commander in chief of ground forces and deputy USSR defense minister, to explain the military situation developing in that country.

Question: Of late a whole series of reports from Afghanistan have been showing that the extremists' offensive around the town of Khowst has run out of steam. Can one therefore see this as the second defeat, after Jalalabad, for the armed opposition since the withdrawal of Soviet troops?

Answer: Even before the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan the opposition was nurturing the idea of seizing some area bordering on Pakistan in order to site their own so-called transitional government there. However, as you know, they were unable to achieve that aim either at that time or following the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

Indeed, the opposition did suffer its first major defeat at Jalalabad, but the defeat at Khowst which it has now suffered is not the second, but the latest. The fact is that the Alliance of Seven has already tried to prove itself in the regions of Qandahar, Herat, and even in the Kabul suburbs. However, the very same fate awaited them—defeat.

Despite the fact that at Khowst the opposition sustained exceptionally high losses, the relevant services of the United States and Pakistan are doing all they can to urge its detachments on to further combat action. They even need some kind of small military victory. To this end they are using various methods on the local tribes, particularly the Jadran, Tani and Zalihal, including bribery, intimidation, and punitive measures against the population. They are striving to push the tribes into joint combat actions against government troops.

However, the Khowst garrison, under the leadership of the experienced military leader Lieutenant-General Faruq, continues to conduct combat actions energetically and is holding the town. The garrison is actively supported by the air force and by strikes by government army missile troops.

Question: Information concerning Afghanistan shows that more and more weapons are going to the irreconcilables, including the most up-to-date surface-to-surface cluster missiles. For example, it is being reported that the extremists waging the war have 18 various types of weapons. So how, in your view, can it be explained that under these conditions the armed opposition is being defeated or, at least, is not succeeding?

Answer: It can be explained by the following.

Firstly, the government forces today are highly-trained and experienced officers and well-equipped, trained and thoroughly well-provided-for soldiers and sergeants. Taken together, the weapons and military equipment, the reserve, and the moral spirit of the personnel are enabling the government troops to conduct combat actions successfully and to ward off the onslaught of the opposition.

The mere fact that the ground forces are constantly and effectively supported by missile strikes and air force assaults, which the enemy lacks, tells you about the Armed Forces of Afghanistan.

Secondly, after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops ths slogan "jihad" (holy war), which at one time urged the opposition on to energetic action, lost its force. And calls for a struggle for the purity of Islam are but a cover for banditry and squabbling for power on the part of those who proclaim it.

Thirdly, the U.S. desire to achieve unity within the Alliance of Seven appears extremely naive today. This has not been managed over the past 10 years and it is not going to be. The very nature of those, for example, who lead this alliance, such as Hekmatyar, rules out any kind of lasting alliances. Peronal, national, and other differences do not allow him to share power with anyone. By maneuvering, he can temporarily reach some kind of rapprochement and compromise.

But as soon as the question of "Who's going to win" arises in the struggle for power, Hekmatyar will kill all allies and claimants of this power. And this is well understood by such leaders of the alliance as Rabbani, Mojadeddi, Geilani, Nabi, and others. Field commanders such as Ahmad Shah Masud, have an even better understanding of this.

Question: What, in your view, are the military and the political prospects in Afghanistan today?

Answer: As far as the military aspect is concerned, it is clear to everyone that the path that has been chosen by the opposition and those who inspire them has no prospects. It only increases the suffering of the people of Afghanistan.

There can only be one path. It was set out very vividly in specific terms by Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, in his speech at the 9th nonaligned summit conference which has taken place in Belgrade. The basic elements of a political settlement of the Afghan problem must be a cease-fire, dialogue between Afghans, the setting up of a broad-based government, and democratic elections.

Israel's Peres, Arens Interviewed on Policy

LD1109110189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 10 Sep 89

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by Nikolay Shishlin; interview with Shim'on Peres, Israeli deputy prime minister and finance minister, and Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens by Yevgeniy Kiselev; date, place of interview not specified; Peres and Arens speak in English with superimposed Russian translation—recorded; introductory paragraph read by Shishlin]

[Text] [Shishlin] And now, about Israel, or, more precisely, about Israeli politicians:

[Arens] I am very pleased to be given for the first time the opportunity of meeting the television viewers of the USSR.

[Peres] It seems to me that this interview is one more step in the important process of normalization of relations between our countries. [video shows reporter Yevgeniy Kiselev talking alternately to Moshe Arens and Shimon Peres; Peres is captioned: Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Finance of Israel; Arens is captioned: Minister of Foreign Affairs of Israel; clips shown at intervals depict the two at meetings]

[Kiselev] This is how, on the very same day in Jerusalem, just 2 hours apart, two members of Israel's top political leadership started their interviews for Soviet television. Shimon Peres is the leader of the Labor Party, which is a member of the Socialist International, and of the Maraach bloc which it leads, and first deputy prime minister and finance minister of Israel. Moshe Arens is one of the leaders of the Likud, the bloc of right-wing parties, and foreign affairs minister of Israel. Two extremes of the political spectrum of the Israeli leadership; fierce opponents; members of the same cabinet of ministers, the coalition government of national unity which has been in power in Israel since 1984, reconciling apparently irreconcilable forces, the long-time antagonists and rivals, alignment and Likud.

[Peres] We have to coexist for the simple reason that the last elections did not bring victory to either of the two main blocs—one obtained 40 seats, the other 39—and it was impossible to form a one-party government.

[Kiselev] One never ceases to wonder at the way they manage to avoid the government crisis that is hovering over the horizon the whole time, so sharp are the attacks upon each other by Likud and the Alignment and so diverse their approaches to many key problems of Israeli policy, and primarily the main one of these, the problem of the Palestinians.

[Peres] We decided that for a certain period of time we would, perhaps, be able to cooperate, to be united on something, on the fact, for example, that the Palestinians on the occupied territories should be given the possibility to elect their representatives and that serious talks with them should be started. But we remain divided on the issue of what the essence of the solution of the problem should be.

[Arens] Israel is a tiny country. People in the Soviet Union perhaps do not even realize how small it is. And what is more we are a small country surrounded by hostile neighbors, and surrounded as we are in this way Israel must think about its security, about ensuring that its border is capable of being defended. The territories which you describe as occupied lie at the very heart of Israel and approach the edges of the main cities of Israel. We are now sitting less than kilometers away from those places which you call occupied territories, for we are in Jerusalem, Israel's capital. I think that one can, therefore, understand Israel's concern for problems of its own security and I expect that when the talks begin those Arabs who really do want peace with Israel will also show understanding of our concern for our security.

[Peres] And I consider it will be a terrible mistake if Israel tries to force the Palestinians to remain living under our supremacy against their will. Never in the 4,000 year history of the Jewish people have we exercised dominion over other peoples, and those who have tried to exercise dominion over us have disappeared from history. So why should we copy them?

[Arens] UN Security Council resolution 242, which confirms Israel's right to secure borders, also talks about the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the territories occupied during the 6-day war of 1967. But it does not lay down precisely from which territories. And that is not fortuitous. In fact, we have already left most of the territories occupied during the 6-day war—Egyptian territories which we left under a peace treaty with Egypt.

And when talks begin we will possibly argue further with the Arabs about what the correct interpretation of Resolution 242 should be; and I believe that we will reach an agreement.

[Peres] I do not believe it is possible. We will not achieve peace even among ourselves if we remain on the occupied territories. The territories are not simply an abstract term: they are inhabited lands now—1.5 million Palestinians live there. Anyone who talks about the territories as though this were an empty place is trying to get away from reality. I have no intention of doing that. We in the Labor Party are willing to return the land in exchange for peace. We are willing to make territorial compromises, not just for the sake of peace but in order to safeguard the democratic character of the Israeli state. Using Soviet terminology, I will quote Mr Gorbachev, who says that ultimately he would like to achieve the demilitarization of interstate relations. Thus, we would like to demilitarize our relations with the Arabs. And if I may use another of your popular expressions, to democratize the resolution of the problem.

[Kiselev] And so there are two different approaches, two poles of opinion in the government coalition, on the right the Likud and on the left the Alignment. Nevertheless, one should not overstate the acuteness of these differences, especially in view of the fact that they become noticeably smoothed over when the talk turns to the idea of an international conference on the Middle East, which, as we know, enjoys the support of a majority of the world community; and to the possibility of Israel's entering into a direct dialogue with the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO].

[Arens] I believe peace can be achieved between the Arabs and Israel. I think that when we enter into talks we will be able to reach an agreement. Take Egypt, five times it has waged war against us, and then-President Sadat decided that nothing could be achieved by force, but that at the negotiations table it would be possible both to defend Egypt's interests and to achieve peace with Israel. Other Arab countries have not yet come to that conclusion and it seems to me that some Arab countries do not, in fact, want peace with Israel. I am saying Arab countries, although I should no doubt to be talking about Arab rulers, because nearly all the Arab countries are totaliterian states. Democracy is not advancing in the Arab world and that, possibly, is the main obstacle on the way to peace.

[Peres] I think that the best way of settling things is to have talks with a group of elected representatives of the Palestinians. I consider that both for the Palestinians and for us Israelis and for the cause of peace the most important thing of all is to replace the power of arms with the power of democratic majority. We recognize the Palestinians as a people. There's no problem in that for us. But why are they forcing us to recognize some particular organization as their representative? For us the problem is how this people is going to be represented, by people who have been democratically elected, or by a group which has been selected by the succession of events? For all of us it would be extraordinarily wise and correct to place the stake upon the democratic process. This is the heart of the whole problem. [Video shows clip of street clashes betwen Israeli security forces and Palestinians]

[Kiselev] As you can see, there is nothing new in principle in the last two responses—the same old stubbornness about separate talks, elections in the occupied territories, the same old desire to heap all the blame on the Arabs, and rejection of dialogue with the PLO. And yet—I don't know about you, but for me the words of Shim'on Peres were more flexible and restrained, like the whole tone of his interview, and this, in my view, also came through in the way that both politicians answered the same question: What did they feel at the thought of giving an interview to Soviet television for the first time?

[Arens] There certainly is an improvement in our relations, but this process is taking place very, very slowly, and I feel that Soviet official circles are vacillating on this matter, perhaps under the burden of the past, but I hope that Soviet officials will be able to overcome this feeling. The restoration of diplomatic relations would enable the USSR to set out its position directly and more fully to Israel concerning Near East problems and perhaps to try to convince us over the things about which we differ. We, too, would be given the opportunity of talking directly to the USSR and perhaps, too, of convincing the USSR of some things. Any outcome would bring mutual benefit. Today the United States does not support the holding of an international conference on the Near East. The USSR supports it, but this does not in the least prevent it from having full diplomatic relations with the United States. To follow this logic, there is no reason for there not to be full-blown diplomatic relations between our countries, too. However, it is up to the USSR to decide on this matter—it broke off diplomatic relations, it is up to the USSR to decide if it wants to restore them and when.

[Peres] In our country there is deep feeling for Russia, for its history and culture, for everything it has gone through. To this day you can hear Russian songs and be aware of the influence of Russian literature. Over the past few centuries the lives of the Jewish people have been closely intertwined with the history of the Russian people, in joy and in sorrow, and when there were outbreaks of antisemitism or anti-Israeli attitudes in your country, we sincerely regretted this. Today we follow attentively and with great interest what is happening in Russia; we are genuinely concerned about that, and we pray for your success. We welcome both Gorbachev's domestic and foreign policies, for we believe that an amalgam of peace, democracy, and economic progress is the best thing that can be left to the next generations. We hope that Russia will be a bringer of peace to the Near East, just as once it was a bringer of weapons and discord.

So allow me, in conclusion, to say that we wish every success to the new Russian thinking, to all your impulses and deeds, and we hope that we will succeed in establishing genuinely good mutual relations between our peoples and states so that we can in the best possible way serve the cause of peace for future generations.

[Shishlin] Of course, we fully understand the problem of security, which is sensitive for every country, including, of course, Israel, for which the security problem is probably doubly or trebly sensitive when you take into account its relations with its Arab neighbors. But it should be noted that Israel has both sword and shield, a sharp sword which it has used more than once. But what Israel does not have, of course, is peace and calm, and there is something for the Israeli politicians to ponder here, all the more so since changes are happening in the positions of the Arabs. The Arab stands are evolving. Of course, I am not talking about all Arabs, but I mean, specifically, the PLO. Some constructive ideas have already been expressed, and probably some more constructive ideas could be formulated. In any event, it seems to me that it is incorrect to consider the whole Near East knot to be absolutely untieable. There are possibilities for change in the stands of both Israel and the Arab states and, what is particularly significant, it seems to me that the active influence of the world community for the benefit of political settlement of this prolonged and torturous conflict is a considerable resource.

Resumption of Relations With Israel Examined

TA1109191089 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1500 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Commentary by Dimitriy Prokofyev; first two paragraphs are studio introduction]

[Text] Chingiz Aytmatov, the well-known Soviet writer and chairman of the Supreme Soviet Committee on National Languages, has arrived in Israel on an 11-day visit. He will confer with Vice Prime Minister Shim'on Peres, Ministers Yitzhaq Navon and 'Ezer Weizman, and writers and artists.

In his first interview with the Voice of Israel, Aytmatov referred to the question of the resumption of relations between our two countries. The decision will be made by politicians, he said. As for myself, as a writer and human being, I would like our relations to resume shortly. We are now offering our listeners a commentary on the issue by our commentator Dimitriy Prokofyev:

For many years, the question of the resumption of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel was not on the agenda at all. During the era of stagnation, Israel was placed on the blacklist of countries that could only be denounced. In the initial phase of perestroyka, too, commentators sufficed with lauding every statement made by the political level. Apparently, this was the influence of a certain routine thinking on the part of the [word indistinct]. If political decisions are made by politicians, commentators would have been ill-advised to voice an opinion differing from the official position.

Perestroyka and the development of glasnost in Soviet society are now shaking those principles. If there is an argument with the authorities on the key issue of domestic policy, why should such a pluralism not apply to foreign policy too? After all, pluralism ensures the encouragement of optimal solutions in domestic, economic, and social policies. So why should we consider our international policy a sacred cow which cannot be touched by another caste?

Differing assessments and opinions about the international activities of the Soviet leadership have emerged, not just with regard to relations between the Soviet Union and Israel. For example, in mid-August, on the eve of the 21st anniversary of the entry of Warsaw Pact troops into Czechoslovakia, several newspapers vehemently denounced that operation—but one should not infer that this was criticism in hindsight. The attitude of the Czechoslovak leadership to those events is well known, and the publication of such articles could have caused problems in our current diplomacy. There was no attempt, however, to ban the publication of those unconventional opinions in the press, because we believe that argument is possible and desirable on every question that evokes diverse opinions.

The debate on the issue of relations with Israel also came up in the press recently. Last week IZVESTIYA published two differing opinions. The well-known commentator Aleksandr Bovin called for the resumption of relations with Israel at once and unconditionally, whereas the historian Aleksandr Smirnov contended that relations should not resume as long as Israel does not change its policy in the Middle East. A few days ago, (Sergey Makseyev), one of the leaders of the USSR Union of Journalists, whose position resembles that of Smirnov, spoke in our studio. Now, Chingiz Aytmatov has voiced a position similar to that of Aleksandr Bovin.

I think that in this case the argument is definitely legitimate. Aytmatov was right when he said that political decisions are made by politicians. Perestroyka objects to the voluntarist [as heard] decisions made in secrecy in the era of stagnation. The main purpose of the process is to have the public take part in the adoption of state decisions on all issues and levels. What do I propose to do in order to ascertain what is it that the public thinks? There is only one way: To hold a public debate without any restrictions.

That is actually all I wanted to say on the subject, but I realize that if I were to end on such a note many would ask: What do we, Moscow Radio Peace and Progress, think about the resumption of diplomatic relations with Israel? Among us, as within the public at large, there are those who are in favor and those who are against. Personally, I object to the conditions set by Aleksandr Smirnov. I think that the resumption of diplomatic relations should not be a reward for good behavior by the State of Israel. Moreover, we have diplomatic relations with many countries whose official policies we disapprove of. At the same time, I am afraid that a resumption of relations as early as tomorrow, as Bovin proposes, would create more problems than it would solve. After all, 20 years of brainwashing and the nurturing of an enemy image by the media has left behind huge obstacles of ignorance and distrust. In my opinion, what we should do now is to expand our cultural relations and exchanges of know-how at an accelerated pace in order to create the background for the development of normal official relations in all aspects.

Nevertheless, this is my personal opinion and there are others who think differently. The question is being discussed by Soviet society, and the political decision depends on the results of this debate.

Kapitsa Interviewed, Discusses Mideast Policy

LD1109122189 Kuwait KUNA in English
1018 GMT 11 Sep 89

[By Khalid al-Tarrah]

[Text] Moscow, Sept 11 (KUNA)—A leading Soviet politician Monday praised Kuwait's foreign policy describing it as "wise, balanced and gaining admiration worldwide."

Interviewed by Kuwait News Agency, KUNA, former deputy foreign minister and director of Eastern Studies Institute Mikhail Kapitsa emphasized that Moscow is looking with great interest and admiration at the positive Kuwaiti policy not only in the Middle East but on the international level as well.

He noted that Kuwait and the Soviet Union are linked with close political and economic relations and are also enjoying good cooperation ties in military fields.

Kapitsa, who is also chairman of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, indicated that Soviet-Kuwaiti stances were indentical regarding international questions, particularly on the Third World debt problem.

On the Soviet-Arab relations, Kapitsa denied that the Soviet Union is having "allies" in the Middle East saying that "alliances" could only be made in accordance with signed treaties such as that concluded between the Soviet Union and Mongolia or the one between Warsaw Pact states.

The Soviet politician, who is also member of the Soviet Parliament's Foreign Relations Committee, said however his country is making "friends" in the Mideast with whom it is linked by agreements of friendship and cooperation.

He asserted the abidance of the Soviet Union by its declared foreign policy of backing victims of aggression and social injustice, stressing that Moscow has been "a natural friend" of national liberation movements.

Kapitsa pointed out that the Soviet policy renounces war as a means for resolving disputes among various countries, but he said that any state facing an "imperialist offensive" has the right for self-defence and will subsequently be supported by Moscow by all means, including arms supply.

He refuted that the Soviet Union was abandoning its friends and affirmed Moscow's attentiveness on developments in the Middle East, referring to recent shuttle trips in the region by Soviet envoys.

On Lebanon, the prominent Soviet official said Moscow was trying to convince the Lebanese warring groups to observe a ceasefire and resort to national dialogue to settle the situation there.

Referring to "urgent calls" by certain Soviet writers for resuming diplomatic relations between Moscow and Tel-Aviv, Kapitsa indicated that those calls did not comply with the trend pursued by the Soviet Government on his institute and the majority of the Soviet community.

Sub-Saharan Africa

South African Communist Party Leader Interviewed

LD0709213689 Moscow Television Service
in Russian 1430 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party [SACP] and a member of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress of South Africa, talks about the present political situation in the Republic of South Africa in an interview with a correspondent for the "Vremya" program:

[Begin recording] [Slovo in English with superimposed Russian translation] Perhaps this is now one of the most important moments which our country is experiencing. The elections have shown the dramatic division which exists in the Republic of South Africa. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent in English with superimposed Russian translation] How do you assess the reaction of the Soviet press to the development of the situation in South Africa?

[Slovo] Of course, I have not been able to acquaint myself with everything published in the Soviet press, but I have read several articles by commentators in Soviet newspapers and magazines on the situation in our country. I have to say honestly that many of those commentaries tend to place emphasis on reconciliation with the regime and on those aspects which are connected with the policies of the white minority. I feel that there is now an inadequate evaluation of the main force in our country—the majority, who are still deprived of civil rights, including the right to vote. A complete picture of the turbulent and important processes which are going on in our country, South Africa, is more necessary now than it has ever been. [end recording] [video shows Slovo and correspondent seated in armchairs]

Fedorov Comments on South African Elections

MB1109163689 Moscow in Afrikaans to Southern Africa 1915 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Aleksandr Fedorov commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] On the eve of the 6 September parliamentary elections, Archbishop Desmond Tutu reconsecrated his cathedral in Cape Town because of police action which desecrated the church. Many clergy in South Africa could follow suit. On the eve of and during the elections, the police have been guilty of tough action against the masses, even in churches.

One could hardly speak of free expression on 6 September. But for the moment, the reminders to the election campaign only remain in the speeches of the winners and losers. Another question arives on the agenda: What will happen next? People were excited and hopeful that the situation would change.

Many problems were created in the 40 years of National Party [NP] rule, particularly the apartheid system—a system that was opposed by violence and the effects of which were not experienced by all whites—and a regime that is protected by more than 200 repressive laws.

Many predictions have been made about the future of South Africa after the elections. I think the decisive factor is the view of Frederik De Klerk, who is regarded as the next state president. In a public speech on Monday [4 Sep] in Johannesburg, he said there must be an end to discrimination because there is no other alternative in South Africa. Only the NP, he said very clearly, can bring about change in South Africa that is both fair and just. But what is NP policy? If one looks at the new reform program, one finds only words. In his latest statement, Frederik de Klerk tries to back up his word with substance. The NP invites all population groups to participate in the affairs of the country. That is a good idea. That is what blacks and democratic-minded whites propose; cooperation among various population groups is essential. On the other hand, Frederik de Klerk said that NP policy has always been just. The question arises: Who takes the blame for the present crisis that has resulted in bloody confrontation? In his speech De Klerk has criticized the representatives of white opposition who are opposing apartheid and who have made all sorts of contact with the ANC [African National Congress]. A different approach to the constitutional question is needed to eliminate discrimination. In his public speech in Johnnesburg, De Klerk frequently referred to the KwaZulu Indaba as an example. But if the NP only plays with words, and does not act upon them, one could interpret his words in another way. This is a good example of indifference.

Importance of South African Vote Discounted

MB1009204489 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Boris Asoyan commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] Political life in South Africa on the eve of the elections to the white parliament is easy to imagine as the sole (?clip) run in such a way that the people literally run into each other in the confused hustle of the events.

People in white, black, brown, and rose colored clothes burst onto the platform; they're clapped, and they're (?wooed). Someone proposes a radical decision to the unending bloodletting. Another calls out that things should not move so quickly, that things should be slowed down gradually. Marches thunder, interrupting the orators.

It's not clear to anyone what should be done. Nobody believes anyone. For the ruling Nationalist Party, the time has come to pay for 40 years of apartheid, all is falling down, all is flimsy. In the party ranks, there is confusion and splits. The party seems to be in a political and philosophical vacuum; apart from its policy of apartheid, its existence is questionable.

President Botha began the reform of apartheid 11 years ago, became the chief obstacle in the way, and had to retire on a pension under the jeers of his former supporters. His successor, Frederick de Klerk, put forward a new program of reform, which is again only words.

A nationalist will have to realize that the road to the right leads to an abyss. But they're not yet prepared to do this and give up their white privileges. White South Africa is itself calling for a change to apartheid, but as before stumbles when it comes to the rights of universal suffrage. They want to break the vicious circle of violence, to remove the mark of world rejection, but at the same time to keep the state of emergency, with hundreds of political prisoners under arrest and the bans on the activities of the democratic organizations.

Nor is there unity among the black majority. They hold to the common aim: the elimination of apartheid, as seen by the major political forces in various ways.

The relations retain a number of the [word indistinct] that got so tense that at times there were bloody clashes.

Is it reality to think in such conditions there can be a decisive turn for the better? It's unlikely. In this moment of crisis, when the system is breaking apart at the seams and the opposition is in a higher state of tension, white southern Africa has given [word indistinct] need of a strong leader supported by the majority, but there isn't one.

Frederick de Klerk, the main competitor for the president's chair at the moment, really does not look as bright as the former leader of the white tribe. His manner has [words indistinct] of the common hatred for President Botha. It is doubtful if he will be able to bring back

African unity or to hold back the growth of the competitions from the dynamic sides: the more liberal and influential opposition and the aggressive right groups, who are demanding a return to the policy of true apartheid.

To get out of this dead end calls for a clear and (?brave) plan of action; the ability to unite the interests of all South Africans. The value of any program will be determined, not by its moral, intellectual criteria, but by its ability to get rid of the threat of a civil war, by putting forward positive measures to get over the crisis, to give a chance to the creation of a society without apartheid.

The Nationalist Party does not have such a program, nor do the other political forces. The 5-year plan of reform put forward by De Klerk on the eve of the election is similar to other previous plans in that it ignores the key question: the guarantee of individual rights.

The movement in this situation will take place when the white minority completely and consciously reject the monopoly on political power and ceases to insist on its special role in South Africa.

But the way from group rights to individual rights is neither simple nor quick. It is clear that it demands some time so the whites can see there is no basis for their fears that they will lose their cultural identity in the event of a changeover to the government of the majority. The atmosphere of trust is still to be created. It is perfectly clear today that there can be no consensus in South Africa, either at a national level or within the community.

The future of Africa does not really depend on the result of the 6 September elections. The state of the country will not be decided within the walls of the segregated parliament. It must be seen by the new generation of politicians coming onto the arena that it is fruitless to search for a magical form given the unilateral advantage.

The white and black leaders urgently need a new policy of building bridges. They must create such conditions which excludes the escalation of confrontation. There is a need for reciprocity, compromise, and a willingness to agree.

East Europe

Ligachev Visits GDR; Discusses Agrarian Policy

Arrives; Met by Krowlikowski

LD1209224189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Sep 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Ligachev has arrived in the GDR on an official visit:

[V. Mostovoy video report] Comrade Ligachev was met at Berlin's Schonefeld Airport by Werner Krolikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee, and other officials. Among the welcoming party was Kochemasov, USSR ambassador to the GDR [Video shows Aeroflot aircraft taxiing at Schonefeld airport; Ligachev being greeted with an embrace by Krolikowski, with other unidentified officials in the background]

Immediately after the meeting, there was a conversation at the SED Central Committee building between Comrade Ligachev and Comrade Krolikowski about the experience of agrarian policy in the GDR, about development of mutually advantageous cooperation in that area between our countries, and about ways of tackling the food program. Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev briefed the German comrades about the progress of perestroyka in the Soviet Union. On the GDR side taking part were Semmelmann, chief of the SED Central Committee Agriculture Department; Lietz, minister of agriculture, forestry and food; and Professor Spaar, president of the GDR Academy of Agricultural Sciences. [video shows Ligachev and other officials holding talks]

Comrade Ligachev's visit to the GDR will last until 15 September.

Meets SED Officials in Berlin

LD1209133889 Moscow TASS in English 1331 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin September 12 TASS—Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, staying in the GDR on a working visit, had today a conversation at the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG). He conversed with Werner Krolikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SUPG Central Committee; Helmut Semmelmann, chief of the Agriculture Department at the SUPG Central Committee; Bruno Lietz, GDR minister of agriculture, forestry and food economy; and D. Spaar, president of the GDR Academy of Agricultural Sciences. There was a broad exchange of opinions in the area of enhancing the efficiency of agricultural production and party work in the rural areas.

V. Kochemasov, USSR ambassador to the GDR, took part in the conversation.

Hungary Allows GDR Emigration to West Germany

PM1209130589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Dispatch by own correspondent F. Lukyanov: "Crossing the Border Authorized"]

[Text] Budapest—Mindful of the tense situation existing between Hungary and Austria as a result of increasing cases of GDR citizens' illegally crossing the border, the

Hungarian Government has made the decision to allow all those who wish to leave the country to do so unhindered in any way.

Recently, the problem of GDR citizens' departing for Austria and subsequently the FRG via Hungary has become extremely sensitive for the Hungarian side. Taking advantage of the removal of the physical barrier along the Hungarian-Austrian border, thousands of GDR citizens have, as IZVESTIYA has already reported, begun attempting to cross the border illegally, and often in large groups. According to preliminary data, more than 4,000 GDR citizens crossed the Hungarian-Austrian border in August alone.

True, since the beginning of September the number of attempts to cross the border has considerably reduced. This happened not least because the authorities of the three countries—Hungary, the GDR, and the FRG—held a series of talks to solve the current problem. Hungarian Foreign Minister G. Horn together with M. Nemeth, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, discussed the current problem with the FRG leadership—H. Kohl and H.D. Genscher—and then Horn made a visit to the GDR where talks were held. Hungary has repeatedly stressed that the solution to the problem depends primarily on the two German states and, for its part, Hungary would like a solution reached as quickly as possible.

However, contrary to expectations, as the Hungarian Government statement notes, it was not possible to reach an agreement on the issue. Meanwhile, the number of GDR citizens in Hungary wishing to leave to take up permanent residence in the FRG continued to grow. Since the beginning of September it has been necessary to set up several centers for emigrants in camps vacated by pioneers on the shore of Lake Balaton.

In view of this situation and governed by humanitarian considerations, the Hungarian Government has made the decision to grant all GDR citizens in the country the opportunity to leave the country in any direction they wish. This involves the abrogation of a number of points in the GDR-Hungarian intergovernmental agreement in force since 1969, which does not permit the citizens of those countries to leave for third countries.

The Hungarian Government decision came into force at 0000 Monday. As Hungarian Foreign Minister Horn stated in an interview on the Sunday television program "Het," this is a temporary measure, which, however, does not mean its operation is limited to 24 hours. The minister stressed in this regard the need to continue looking for a solution to the problem.

There are, according to the minister, around 60,000 GDR citizens currently in Hungary. To facilitate the emigrants' departure, the Austrian authorities announced the other day the extension of visa-free entry into the country for GDR citizens coming from Hungary.

Exchange on Fleeing Citizens Noted

PM1309152189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS, unnamed own correspondent dispatches under general heading "Berlin's and Budapest's Opinions"]

[Text] Berlin, 13 Sep—The GDR Government was amazed to learn of the decision by the Hungarian People's Republic government to permit GDR citizens without valid foreign travel documents to travel to third countries. This is said in a note by the GDR Foreign Ministry which was handed to the Hungarian People's Republic Foreign Ministry in Budapest.

This, the document points out, is in breach of treaties under international law and, consequently, of the GDR's fundamental interests. Responsibility for the prevailing situation rests with the Hungarian side.

The GDR Foreign Ministry note mentions that the GDR has repeatedly submitted specific and constructive proposals aimed at reaching an agreed solution to the problem, and the Hungarian side was informed in detail of these proposals during the conversation between the two countries' foreign ministers held in Berlin 31 August, as well as by the 4 September note from the GDR Foreign Ministry and the 8 September telegram from the GDR foreign minister. The Hungarian People's Republic was also promptly informed in detail of the accord reached between the GDR and the FRG, following which all GDR citizens who were in the FRG's permanent mission in the GDR left it voluntarily and returned home. In the GDR's opinion, a similar decision could be made regarding GDR citizens who are in Hungary.

The GDR reaffirms its viewpoint that any permission to GDR citizens without valid foreign travel documents to travel to third countries is a breach of the GDR's sovereignty. At the same time, this enables the FRG to claim "protection rights" over GDR citizens, which is contrary to the norms of international law.

The GDR expects an immediate revocation of the decision by the Hungarian People's Republic to unilaterally suspend the operation of individual sections of the agreement on visa-free travel across state borders.

The GDR affirms its will to continue to develop friendly relations with Hungary on the basis of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance and other agreements. This would serve the fundamental interests of both states, the strengthening of socialism, and the preservation of peace, the GDR Foreign Ministry note stresses.

Budapest—G. Horn, foreign minister of the Hungarian People's Republic, declared in an interview with Austrian Radio and Television that the tense situation which has developed creates nothing but difficulties for Hungary. Interstate treaties cannot have greater legal force than multilateral international agreements, the minister noted. Hungary will act as a sovereign state even in cases when others disagree with it, Horn added.

Speaking on Budapest Radio, G. Horn declared that an ADN commentary, which used sharp expressions to criticize the decision by the Hungarian People's Republic government, "contains unacceptable and insulting claims."

The Budapest newspapers publish reports on responses to the prevailing situation by the world press. THE NEW YORK TIMES, for example, noted that the decision which has been made was very difficult for Hungary, which is striving to avoid an open break with its neighbors and main trading partners.

A spokeswoman for an international humanitarian aid organization pointed out at a press conference in Budapest that it is necessary to treat with caution the figure of 60,000 GDR citizens supposedly intending to travel to the FRG via the territory of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Future, Role of Hungary's MSZMP Discussed

PM1109101589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 5

[F. Lukyanov article: "Hungary: Lineup of Forces Prior to Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Congress"]

[Text] Budapest—Less than 1 month remains before the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] congress scheduled for 6 October. The forthcoming congress, to be convened on the eve of the multiparty parliamentary elections, will be unusually important for the future of the party, which is now losing around 10,000 members a month—the MSZMP's membership has fallen to 730,000. The congress has many things to resolve including the question of whether the MSZMP is to function in its present composition and under its present name, albeit in a reformed guise, or will the platforms and tendencies which have emerged recently break away and create their own parties?

This most urgent question was discussed in the past few days at the precongress conferences of supporters of the platforms and tendencies within the MSZMP. The greatest public attention was attracted by the second national conference of the so-called reform clubs. Formed at the end of last year, these clubs now have over 100 local organizations to which more than 10,000 party members belong—and politically very active ones, too.

The conference was attended and addressed by three of the four members of the present MSZMP Presidium—Party Chairman R. Nyers, Head of Government M. Nemeth, and Hungarian presidential contender I. Pozsgay. Journalists assessing the lineup of forces within the party on the eve of the congress did not fail to notice that just 20 of the 113 members of the present MSZMP Central Committee were invited to attend the reform clubs' conference. In this regard, journalists also recalled that the recent MSZMP Central Committee Plenum did not support the reform clubs' supporters on the issue of ending party organizations' activity in industry [po proizvodstvennomu printsipu] and advocated its continuation under multiparty conditions.

As M. Nemeth stated at a comradely supper on the eve of the conference, two main tendencies have appeared in the party. One (the reform clubs) wants a radical break with the old model; the other also wants reforms but prefers a slower path—the path of compromise. However, in M. Nemeth's opinion, the party which in present conditions is trying to follow the path of compromise cannot renew itself and cannot hope for victory in free democratic elections.

The reform clubs believe that it is necessary to create a new socialist party in place of the MSZMP. By all accounts it will function under a new name on which, however, agreement has not been reached yet. In the words of MSZMP Chairman R. Nyers, this party must inherit the progressive aspirations of the MSZMP and the entire Hungarian socialist movement, which has existed for 100 years now. Unlike some other speakers Nyers did not emphasize the "change of system", but rather the "change of model," noting that what is taking place in Hungary now cannot be called socialism from the viewpoint of the theory of formations.

The creation of the new party, many speeches noted, will require in the leadership many new people who are committed to reform not just in words but in deeds, and who are morally beyond reproach. An impromptu poll on the popularity of members of the present MSZMP Central Committee conducted among conference participants on its first day of work established which politicians enjoy the greatest confidence among the reform clubs and who could probably enter the leadership of the renewed party. Observers in Budapest were not surprised that this group of 10 did not include MSZMP general secretary K. Grosz.

As the conference acknowledged, the majority in the party as a whole is still not on their side which, however, does not mean that the majority is opposed to reform. In the reform clubs' opinion, it is simply that there are still many doubters and waverers in the party. The outcome of the congress will depend to a considerable degree on the position of that particular category of party members. The reform clubs will operate as a separate group of delegates at the party congress. But what will happen if the reform clubs' supporters are in the minority at the congress?

I have asked that question a number of times in recent days. The most frequent answer was: Because the era of ideological compromise is said to be over, the clubs will leave the MSZMP and create their own party. M. Nemeth spoke in the same vein at the conference. He stated that he would not consider the possible split of the party to signify an "undermining of prestige"....

Similar arguments and comments on the de-limitation of forces within the MSZMP have been heard in recent days at another forum—the first Hungarian national congress of the F. Muennich society, whose members are termed orthodox and implacable opponents of the reformers by Western journalists. The F. Muennich Society, created in December 1988, has 10,000-12,000 members including many party veterans and members of the workers militia. The society regards itself as a "critical ally" of the MSZMP and is often quite sharply critical of the party's present policy in the economic and ideological spheres and considers certain party and government steps a deviation from the ideals of socialism. For the same reasons, the society criticizes the reform clubs' platform, in which they see a danger of the restoration of capitalism. The F. Muennich society, according to its chairman J. Aggota [surname as transliterated], considers its task to be the defense and further development of the people's democratic and socialist revolutions. The society favors reforms and renewal on a socialist basis. K. Grosz emphasized that aspect in his greeting when he characterized the society as the ally of the party's renewal.

It is not without interest that at the recent session of the nationwide round table I. Pozsgay, leader of the MSZMP delegation, refused to discuss at the talks the accusation made by the opposition that the Muennich Society is casting doubt on the legitimacy of the people's expression of their will at the free elections and "in the traditional Bolshevist manner are calling for the defense of socialism and people's power." The Muennich Society delegation at the round table talks expressed a readiness to discuss the accusation directly with opposition representatives in a non-antagonistic way.

Replying to your IZVESTIYA correspondent's questions, members of the society's newly elected leadership stated that in the existing situation it will be better if there is a definitive demarcation of the two main tendencies within the MSZMP and they show "their face." At the same time, the society's leadership has condemned all manifestations of extremism and excess.

How will events develop in the future? Only the congress itself can answer that question, of course, and that isn't far off now.

Mazowiecki Interview With Polish Weekly Cited

PM1109082189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Sep 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Interview with T. Mazowiecki"]

[Text] Warsaw, 31 Aug—Our aim now is to create a government relying on a firm coalition of "Solidarity," the United Peasants' Party, and the Democratic Party, but based on a broader formula of government composition, T. Mazowiecki, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, noted in an interview with the SOLIDARNOSC weekly. Now it is important not only to set up a government, but it is likewise important that it should work in accordance with new principles. In Poland the disposition of forces in the coalition has changed, a new parliamentary majority has formed which can form a government. At the same time we need to avoid a situation in which the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] would go over into opposition. All the reform forces must have the opportunity to participate in the process of the state's democratic transformations. Geopolitical factors also militate in favor of the need for a formula of broad coalition with PZPR participation: It is desirable that our neighbors are in no doubt regarding our wish to respect the obligations resulting from the Warsaw Pact.

Speaking about the state of the country's economy, T. Mazowiecki noted that almost everything has been said about how bad it is. On the other hand, by no means everyone is aware of how difficult it is to get the Polish economy out of the crisis. The government, whose firm desire will be to stop inflation, will formulate an economic program. This must be its top concern along with the state of the market so that stores do not resemble a gaping void. None of this is easy. We shall have to make the choice of a certain concept of activity. It is necessary to shake up the economy so that it is based on the principles of economic progress in the developed countries. The government will also have to solve problems of state property which is regarded by a significant part of the population as "nobody's." Difficult decisions will have to be made; they will not be painless, and they will require public concurrence, T. Mazowiecki stressed.

Polish President W. Jaruzelski received T. Mazowiecki on Wednesday. T. Mazowiecki informed W. Jaruzelski of the problems connected with setting up the new coalition government. The president once again stated his support for the efforts to set up a broad coalition government.

Prospective Polish Cabinet Members Profiled

PM1209132989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 5

[L. Toporkov dispatch under the rubric "IZVESTIYA Correspondents Comment": "Poland: Common Government—Common Responsibility"]

[Text] Warsaw—One of the most vital issues for Poland is, of course, the composition of the new cabinet proposed by T. Mazowiecki. Who are the people who will now have to extricate the country from a profound economic and social crisis?

Let me introduce a few more candidate ministers. The Ministry for the Deployment of Productive Forces and Construction will be headed by Senator A. Paszynski, a 60-year old journalist, former editor of the journal FUNDAMENTY, and deputy chief editor of the weekly POLITYKA. He writes on economic subjects and has won the Polish Journalists Union's Club of Economic Affairs Writers prize on numerous occasions. Not only does he write, but he also demonstrates how his written ideas should be translated into practice: The "Murator" Construction Cooperative founded by him is widely known in the country. A. Paszynski heads the Commission for Housing Construction in the "Solidarity" Citizens' Committee.

Leszek Balcerowicz, who is 42 years old, will become vice premier and minister of finance. He is scientific secretary of the Institute for Economic Development and a member of the Polish Economic Society. Back in the early eighties he headed a collective of young economists working on a program for the national economy's reform. But his idea proved rather daring at the time.

There was great interest in the conversation between Sejm deputies and Professor K. Skubiszewski (nonparty person) who was offered the post of foreign minister. He put forward six main points for his department's work: Poland's foreign policy ought to be based on the principles of the state's independence in both international and domestic matters; it should not depend on ideology but should promote economic and political changes in the country and should support reform; relations with Warsaw Pact and CEMA members should be based on respect for existing commitments; relations with the Soviet Union, which is undergoing perestroyka and reform, must not only be perceived from the viewpoint of geostrategic necessity, but should be mutually advantageous and based on equality, independence, and noninterference; foreign policy must continue to make its contribution toward common security and cooperation in Europe.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers met deputies and senators from the Citizens' Parliamentary Club. He refuted rumors that President W. Jaruzelski is supposedly creating his own structure of power, a parallel government. The premier said that this is not true, that the president simply must have two ministers of state on his staff to carry out his instructions. One of them is J. Czyrek, former secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee, the other one will be selected from among the—what is, of course, the former—opposition.

The parliamentarians asked T. Mazowiecki: Will people from "Solidarity" be appointed as deputy ministers of internal affairs and national defense? He replied that both ministries will be switched along state tracks; in other words, they will cease serving the ideological interests of just one party. The main principle to be followed by the head of government is competence and loyalty of cadres.

The new cabinet's composition makes it possible to draw the conclusion that the present government constitutes the large, broad coalition which was the subject of so much talk not so long ago, and which was in doubt. "Solidarity," the PZPR, the United Peasants Party, and the Democratic Party—this is the underlying foundation of the government of common responsibility and partnership cooperation. Will the Sejm approve it on Tuesday? Judging by everything, its "OK" will be forthcoming.

New Polish Foreign Minister on Soviet Relations

LD1209203489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Sep 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] A session of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic opened in Warsaw today:

[Yu. Ulyanov video report] [passage omitted] All the ministries went through the complex sieve of discussions at the deputies' clubs and commissions. Krzysztof Subiszeweski, the new minister of foreign affairs, did not escape it. Incidentally, he does not belong to any political forces or political parties. Of course, what we are interested in, first and foremost, is the prospects for the development of Polish-Soviet relations. [Video shows scenes at session; Mazowiecki speaking]

[Begin Skubiszewski recording in Polish with superimposed Russian translation] There are extremely wide prospects before us. In relation to the Soviet Union, Poland's foreign policy will continue organically, based on strict observance of bilateral alliance and economic accords, and on interaction within the framework of the Warsaw pact. We are counting on further support by the Soviet Union in our efforts to implement economic reform. It seems to me that both Poland and the USSR have an interest in that. [video shows Ulyanov interviewing Skubiszewski] [end recording]

West Europe

Akhromeyev Addresses Finnish Forum on Defense

LD1309051389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0837 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Helsinki, 12 Sep (TASS)—The large conference hall of the President Hotel right in the center of the Finnish capital was hard put yesterday evening to hold everyone who wanted to take part in the routine meeting of the Paasikivi Society, whose guest this time was Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev. He is here at the invitation of Jaakko Valtanen, commander of the Finnish Defense Forces.

The Soviet military leader devoted his speech to the society's members to an analysis of the USSR's new defensive military doctrine, which was put into operation in 1987. Sergey Akhromoyev stressed that it was based on the foreign policy of our state, the main aim of which was to provide the Soviet people with the possibility of resolving the tasks of socialist construction in conditions of a firm peace. The USSR, determining its military-political tasks in the sphere of ensuring the security of the country and of the Warsaw Pact, does not link its future with the military solution of international problems. The USSR does not threaten anyone, does not intend to attack anyone, and will never enter the path of aggression. It does not have any territorial claims on any state in the world, it does not regard any single state or people as its enemy.

Since 1987, the armed forces of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact as a whole, the speaker continued, taking account of the concern of the West European public, has renounced offensive methods of combat operations in rebuffing aggression. The supreme command, the troops, and the Navy are now studying training, and conducting defensive operations with the aim of rebuffing aggression. I would like the public in Western countries to understand that our defensive doctrine is not a statement of intentions; it is guidance for action.

Sergey Akhromeyev set out in detail the Soviet point of view on the problem of the relative military strengths of the North Atlantic alliance and the Warsaw Pact in Europe. He cited specific figures to illustrate the conclusion that the NATO states are using all means to avoid taking account of all forces and means comprising the total military might of the two military alliances, and to exclude from the calculation the forces and means of the Navy. As soon as naval forces are included in such a calculation, the whole concept of the military superiority of the Warsaw Pact in Europe, created over many decades, cracks at the seams.

In conclusion, having dwelled on Soviet-Finnish relations, the marshal of the Soviet Union pointed out that during the post-war period they had been an example of relations between two states with different social systems, between a great power and a relatively small state. Time will come—and already it is not far away—when great powers having different social systems also will go over to such relations.

The treaty of friendship, cooperation, and mutual aid, which both countries signed in 1948, Sergey Akhromeyev stated, represents the foundation of Soviet-Finnish relations. In the more than 40 years of its existence, it has safeguarded the transition of our countries and peoples from mistrust, and even enmity, to friendship and cooperation. It is a great historical achievement, and we are duty-bound to preserve it and build on it.

Abalkin Receives Swedish Minister

LD1309121589 Moscow TASS in English 1156 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 13 TASS—Leonid Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received here today Michael Suhlman [as received], secretary of state of Sweden's Foreign Ministry, who leads a Swedish delegation at the second roundtable meeting to exchange experience in socio-economic development of the USSR and Sweden.

Suhlman handed over Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson's personal message to Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov, and a memorandum with a contemporary management methods programme for Soviet specialists employed at state enterprises, cooperatives and the public management sphere.

Abalkin expressed gratitude for the Swedish side's programme for Soviet specialists, adapted to the practical needs of perestroika.

The sides agreed to hold negotiations in the near future to work out concrete details of the accord for the first groups of Soviet specialists to arrive in Sweden for courses in the first six months of 1990.

The two sides underlined the great significance of regular meetings of Soviet and Swedish experts in management, economy and finances to exchange experience of the socio-economic development of the two countries.

Sweden's ambassador to the USSR Orjan Berner, Soviet ambassador to Sweden Boris Pankin, and deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee's Socio-economic Department Anatoliy Milyukov took part in the talks.

Soviet-FRG Talks Held on Disarmament Issues

PM1209094789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Sep 89 Moscow Edition p 3

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Soviet-West German consultations on disarmament issues took place at the USSR Foreign Ministry 31 August. The FRG delegation was headed by Ambassador J. Holik, the government's special spokesman on questions of arms limitation and disarmament. The Soviet delegation was headed by USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.P. Karpov.

COCOM Blocking USSR-French Telephone Contract

LD1309124789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0745 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Paris, 13 Sep (TASS)—The concluding of a major Soviet-French contract on the development of modern telephone communications systems is threatened because of the position adopted by COCOM—the coordinating committee on export control to the socialist countries.

This organization, which has its headquarters in Paris, is made up of the NATO countries excluding Iceland, and including Australia and Japan. It was set up at the height of the 'Cold War' and continues to serve as a brake on the development of commercial and economic realtions between East and West.

According to Paris press reports, COCOM is currently blocking a contract between the Soviet Union and the French company 'Alcatel.' It envisages the supply to our country of 250,000 telephone lines and the creation of a joint enterprise to assemble in the Soviet Union a new generation of modern telephone exchanges of the 'System- 12' type. They are produced by Alcatel's Belgian subsidiary 'Bell Telephone'. Negotiations on this contract, estimated at 1 billion francs, have been continuing for some 2 years.

Extremist COCOM circles who think in 'Cold War' stereotypes are attempting to justify their decision by saying that the advent of modern telephone communications systems in the Soviet Union...will increase the state of combat preparedness of the Soviet Army. However, the French firm hopes that the contract will nevertheless be fulfilled. An Alcatel spokesman said that negotiations are continuing and that, as before, they are dealing with the creation of a joint enterprise to produce 'System 12' exchanges. [passage omitted]

Latin America & Caribbean

Nicaraguan Delegation Visits Supreme Soviet

Nishanov Receives Group

LD1109114189 Moscow TASS in English 1129 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—A delegation of the National Assembly of the Republic of Nicaragua, led by Carlos Nunez, the assembly chairman and member of the national leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, has arrived in Moscow for an official visit at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Today the guests were received by Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Noting the ecceptionally warm nature of Soviet-Nicaraguan relations, he said that the delegation's visit had coincided with an active period of perestroika in the USSR. The Soviet people have started to renovate their socialist society through broad democratisation. He stressed that socialism ensured genuine rule by the people and real fairness. The main task today is to do away with its deformations, to ensure the transfer of all powers to the Soviets. The sides noted the international importance of renovation processes under way in the Soviet Union.

The Nicaraguan MPs [Members of Parliament] were told about the work of the highest Soviet legislative organ, its commissions and committees.

Taking part in the talk were people's deputies of the USSR Vladimir Maslin, Vladimir Stadnik, Albert Yakovlev and the Nicaraguan ambassador to the USSR Ernesto Jose Castillo Martinez.

Lukyanov Talks With Delegation

LD1209032589 Moscow TASS in English 1601 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—Anatoliy Lukyanov, first vice president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Carlos Nunez, president of the Nicaraguan National Assembly and member of the national leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, discussed here today pressing international problems and some questions of Soviet-Nicaraguan cooperation. Nunez heads a Nicaraguan parliamentary delegation which arrived in the Soviet Union on an official visit.

When the sides were exchanging opinions on key international problems, the Nicaraguan guests's attention was called to specific foreign policy initiatives of the Soviet Union aimed at ensuring universal peace and security.

Carlos Nunez described the progress of the talks on defusing the Central American conflict and Nicaragua's efforts aimed at fulfilling in full assumed obligations on a political settlement in the region. The Soviet side declared support for this line of the Nicaraguan leadership in domestic and international affairs as well as the Soviet readiness to promote in every way the improvement of the situation in Central America.

Nunez, Others Meet Officials

LD1309102889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1652 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 12 Sep (TASS)—The visiting delegation of the Republic of Nicaragua's National Congress, headed by its president, Carlos Nunez, member of the national leadership of the Sandinista Liberation Front (SLF), was received today in the USSR Supreme Soviet's Committee on International Affairs. The sides discussed issues relating to a settlement of the position in Central America, and the situation in Nicaragua in light of the country's forthcoming elections. The stable nature of Soviet-Nicaraguan relations was noted.

In the Central Electoral Commission on the election of USSR People's deputies, the visitors were told about its work and powers and about the procedure for nominating candidates. It was stressed that all the activities of that permanently functioning body were carried out in an atmosphere of glasnost, openness, and initiative.

On the same day, the delegation had conversations in the Soviet Peace Fund and the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Latin American countries.

The delegation visited V.I. Lenin's Mausoleum and laid a wreath. A wreath was also laid beside the grave of the Unknown Soldier.

"We have come to the Soviet Union to learn more about the processes of perestroyka, the conditions in which they are taking place, and also the new concept of activities by the Soviet parliament," Carlos Nunez declared today at a press conference in Moscow.

Carlos Nunez told journalists about the pre-electoral situation in Nicaragua. He noted that the realistic program of action, the vigorous foreign policy, and the unity of the SLF had enabled the country's government to remain in power for 10 years. It was stated that the Sandinista Government was ready for a fight at the elections with the ultra-right forces supported by the United States.

The member of the SLF national leadership highly appraised the contribution made by the CPSU and Soviet public organizations toward strengthening cooperation between the two countries in the economic and military spheres. He stressed that the USSR had played a decisive part in the fact that, in its hour of trial, the revolution had held firm and no one had been able to impose their will on it.

Carlos Nunez expressed his sincere gratitude to Soviet people for the unstinting help and support provided to the people of Nicaragua.

Cuban Troops Begin Ethiopia Pullout 9 Sep

PM1009155989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[Report from PRAVDA-TASS roundup under the rubric "From the Flow of News: 8 September": "Cuban Troop Withdrawal"]

[Text] The withdrawal of Cuban troops from Ethiopia will begin 9 September in line with an accord reached between the governments of Cuba and Ethiopia. A statement by the Cuban Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces points out that this decision was adopted with due regard for the favorable conditions created in Ethiopia for ending external threats and aggression—which was the reason for the presence of Cuban servicemen on that country's territory since April 1977.

Sentencing of Cuban Former Officials Noted

PM1209082389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Sentenced Passed in Case Against Former Cuban Internal Affairs Ministry Officials"]

[Text] Havana, 1 Sep—Cuba's special military tribunal passed sentence in the case against a group of former leaders and staffers in the Ministry of Internal Affairs. As the newspaper GRANMA reports, Jose Abrahantes Fernandez, the republic's former internal affairs minister, who is accused of abusing his official position, having a negligent attitude to his obligations, and making improper use of state funds, has been sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment. Pascual Martinez Gil, his former first deputy—to 12 years. Punishments tasking the form of imprisonment for periods from 5 to 10 years have been fixed for the remaining defendants.

The special military tribunal decided to address to the appropriate authorities a proposal that Abrahantes Fernandez, Martinez Gil, and Gonzalez Caso be stripped of the title of general and demoted to the rank of private. Two more accused lieutenant colonels have also been demoted to the rank of private.

GRANMA's report stresses that Jose Abrahantes Fernandez and Pascual Martinez Gil were removed from the Central Committee and expelled from the party at a session of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee held here.

Komplektov Receives Colombian Ambassador

PM1109133189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Sep 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 1 September USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.G. Komplektov received Guillermo Plazas Alcid, Colombian ambassador to the USSR, in connection with the upcoming presentation of his credentials.

Political & Social

CPSU Nationalities Plenum To Open 19 Sep

LD1209133289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1305 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 12 Sep (TASS)—The CPSU Central Committee plenum on interethnic issues will open on 19 September, stated Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry at a briefing held here today.

Replying to a question on convening, in the near future, a plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, he said that "it is not planned over the next few days to hold a plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. The leadership of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee is, in its full complement, departing for Moscow to take part in the work of the CPSU Central Committee plenum."

Rail Strikers Seek Moldavian Language Law Limits

LD1209153189 Moscow TASS in English 1407 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Kishinev September 12 TASS—While all factories in the Moldavian capital of Kishinev are back at work, making up for the time lost during recent strikes, many enterprises in Tiraspol, Bendery, Rybnitsa and Komrat are still idle.

Representatives of the strike committees of all Moldavian cities affected by stoppages, meeting in Tiraspol, have demanded that as factories and regions assume greater independence and become economically self-supporting, they should be given the right to freely choose the language to be used by local governing councils and work collectives.

The Bendery City Council opened a special session this afternoon to discuss the social and political situation in the city and Moldavia in general.

Striking railwaymen called on the councillors to take a decision limiting the application of language laws recently passed by the Moldavian Supreme Soviet on Bendery territory.

They described the laws as infringing on the rights of the Russian-speaking population.

The strikers, whose walk-out has seriously aggravated the situation on Moldavian railways, said they would resume work if the city council heeded their call.

Moldavian planning agency chief Vladislav Kutyrkin has told reporters that at the peak of strikes the number of idle factories reached 200, including 25 enterprises directly subordinate to Moscow ministries. The other 73 such enterprises in Moldavia continued working.

Kutyrkin said that direct damage from strikes (production shortfalls at factories involved in the stoppages) amounts to 54 million roubles and that indirect damage (disruptions in the operations of other enterprises, caused by suspended supplies) is even larger.

"The Moldavian Government is well aware of the baneful effects of strikes on the economy of both this republic and the country as a whole," Kutyrkin said.

"These extreme actions, doing tremendous harm to the national economy at the already difficult, critical period in its development, should be avoided. Disputes must be solved through other ways," he added.

Moldavian Strike, Harvest Difficulties Reported

LD1209181489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] A TASS correspondent reports frm Kishinev: Difficulties with the weather have been added to those in the public and political situation in Moldavia. Unremitting rain has made the harvesting extremely difficult. Oleaginous crops, vegetables and grapes are being left too long and are spoiling. The Union of Agro-industrial Enterprises and Organizations of Moldavia has appealed to the republican strike committee to end their strike. Their appeal stresses that because of the violation of the work of the railways, hundreds of millions of tins of canned food are waiting out in the open to be dispatched to the country's industrial centers, and the dispatch of fresh fruit and vegetables has practically halted. The glass, aluminum foil, and canning works are on the brink of stopping.

With the exception of the Jewelry Works and some scientific research and planning institutes, the strike has been halted at enterprises in Kishinev. But in Tiraspol, Rybnitsa, Komrat and other towns, there is no return to work. The republican strike committee put to the vote the question of halting the strike at such hot spots as the locomotive depot in Bendery, the main transport gates to Moldavia. The greatest part of the goods entering the republic and sent outside it pass through there. But the railwaymen did not agree with the results of the voting, [as heard] and are continuing their strike, servicing only trains with perishable goods.

The most important task today is certainly to gather and transport the harvest, said Shtefan, chairman of the Republican Strike Committee. We shall do all we can to see that transport with perishable goods will always get a green light. But even (?at the height) of the strikes we not only never hampered the harvesting of crops, but just the contrary, took every measure to prevent obstructions. Trains of vegetables and other gifts from the fall fields went round the republic without any delay, even before the appeal from the Union of Agro-Industrial Enterprises and Organizations. We regard the appeal as yet another attempt to cast dirt on the legitimate demands of the strikers, and to lay on them the responsibility for the lack of organization of those who are truly guilty for the fact that vegetable shops in the capital of Moldavia are rather empty.

No, the strikers are not only not hampering the transport, but are themselves joining in the harvest.

Yes, the strike committee realizes that they must not continue the strike interminably. It is essential to discover other ways to achieve the aims that have been set. Giving the Moldavian language the status of a state one met with all around approval. But the disagreements on the language problems of the representatives of other peoples who live here remain as acute as before after the session of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet. The task of searching for mutual understanding is now urgent. Because of unobjective information some of the population have gained false ideas about the aims of the strikes. Fables are being concocted alleging an anti-Moldavian slant in our actions, said Zhuravlev, secretary of the Kishinev Schetmash Works Party Committee, and cochairman of the Town Strike Committee, in a conversation with a TASS correspondent. In my opinion a dialogue with Popular Front representatives is important, and I think we shall move toward common ground.

The strikers still have many complaints about the republican Znaniye [Knowledge] society, and lectors from the Communist Party of Moldavia Central Committee and the party aktiv of the republic. The work of elucidating the positions of the sides, explaining the legislation that has been adopted and the ways of implementing it, is being done poorly in the republic.

Strike Leader Denies Strike Ended

PM1209131989 Moscow TRUD in Russian 12 Sep 89 p 2

[Own correspondent P. Rashkov report: "Complex Situation"]

[Text] Tiraspol, 11 Sep—Labor collectives in Tiraspol, Bendery, Rybnitsa, and a number of other cities in the republic involved in the political strike over the adoption of the language laws remain out. The fact is that, although due to long talks agreement was reached between the USSR Supreme Soviet commission, the republic leadership, and the united republic strike committee, a package of demands from the strike collectives, the main point—suspending the language laws—was not signed. In this regard the political strike at most participating enterprises goes on. The united strike committee is admittedly seeking options for an acceptable way out of the strike.

"But our task," B. Shtefan, chairman of the republic united strike committee, said, "is complicated by the fact that certain central mass media organs have now reported that striking collectives have responded to a call from our committee to go back to work. This inaccurate information (in Tiraspol, for instance, nobody has yet gone back to work, and our committee has issued no such call as yet) has only exacerbated the situation in the city. For instance, there have been demands for 'no confidence' to be expressed in the strike committee and for its members to be replaced, and this could have unfavorable consequences. Both here in Tiraspol and in other cities people realize that we need to actively seek a universally acceptable way out of the crisis.

"Bearing this in mind," B. Shtefan concluded, "our committee considers it its main task to promote as far as possible a stabilization of the situation in the republic. We have appealed to all labor collectives to assess yet again the situation in the republic, to take account of the conclusions of the USSR Supreme Soviet commission and the agreement that was reached, and to discuss options and conditions for possibly suspending the strike. Labor collective rallies will be held today and tomorrow at striking enterprises—only they are entitled to decide on a future course of action."

Ukraine Party Official Says Slogans 'Provocative'

LD1209200689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Excerpts] As we have already reported, the Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka held an inaugural congress in Kiev. Local Soviet and party leaders of the republic were invited to the congress. Our correspondent, Vladimir Lyaskalo, talked with Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk, chief of the Ideological [Propaganda and Agitation] Department of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party.

[Lyaskalo] The popular Rukh [movement] of the Ukraine announced its existence last autumn, and I must say that from the very beginning, Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk has been in close contact with its leaders. He has attended all the gatherings and meetings at which the program and charter of the future movement were discussed. He often has taken part in trenchant television discussions and has also spoken now at the inaugural congress. I should say that soon the participants of the congress packed tightly around us. The interview turned into a small rally. [passage omitted]

[Begin Kravchuk recording] Today in the city of Kiev you can come across the slogan: 'Ukraine for the Ukrainians.' I do not know [unidentified voice interrupts, saying: we have seen such slogans too; Kravchuk changes thought]...well I want Rukh to say that [unidentified voice says: it's a provocation]...that it's a provocation and we dissociate ourselves from provocateurs. Then, Rukh will rise in the eyes of the people. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Ukraine Party's Ivashko Discusses Perestroyka

PM1209142189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with V.A. Ivashko, second secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, by special correspondent Pavel Gutiontov: "How Is Perestroyka Going in the Ukraine? V.A. Ivashko, Second Secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, Answers an IZVESTIYA Correspondent's Questions"; date of interview not given]

[Text] Kiev—[Gutiontov] Vladimir Antonovich, how do you assess the current situation in the republic? Are you satisfied with the progress of perestroyka in the Ukraine?

[Ivashko] I do not believe that there is anyone who is satisfied with the progress of perestroyka, either in the Ukraine, or in any other republic. How could anyone be completely satisfied with something that is only just getting off the ground, beset with such difficulties and troubles?

[Gutiontov] Let me rephrase my question then: TO WHAT EXTENT are you satisfied?

[Ivashko] I will put it this way. It has been said that the Ukraine is allegedly lagging in the perestroyka, that what we have here is all but a reserve of stagnation.... I am asking myself by what criteria people who make such claims are measuring perestroyka? If the unit of measurement are decibels—if what is measured is who is shouting loudest—then, I admit, we were indeed lagging at one time, but now, I believe, we are catching up even in this respect... If actual economic and social indicators are used as the yardstick then, I believe, the picture that emerges is no worse, and in some respects better, than in other parts of the country. But if we are talking in general about the pace of renewal in all spheres of our life then, I must say that I am not satisfied, nor could I be. But after all, the Ukraine is part and parcel of the Soviet Union. It has its specific features, of course, and the processes which are under way here differ, incidentally, from those which are taking place in Georgia, Armenia, or the Baltic republics, but the circumstances which prevail in the Union as a whole also affect us here in one way or another.

So that speaking about perestroyka...I am deeply convinced that at the root of building the new society, for which the party has drawn up the program, there are above all economic processes which will largely determine the changes in all spheres of the people's life. In view of the current situation, this, in particular, is a priority avenue. I am deeply convinced of this and no one will change my mind.

[Gutiontov] Are you saying that first we must adjust the economic mechanism, and only then, with our bellies full, as it were, we should attend to the other questions?

[Ivashko] Of course not. The point is precisely that we are having to tackle all questions—economic and "other questions"—as you put it, simultaneously, in parallel.

Nonetheless, speaking about priorities...

As you know, when the Supreme Soviet session discussed the question of the transition of the Baltic republics to economic accountability, your newspaper wrote: "Deputy Ivashko proposed point-blank that the discussion of the draft law be postponed." What I actually said was: "Only the day before yesterday we drew up the procedure for the examination of priority documents on which the fate of our economy will depend. We began with the law on ownership. And the first thing that has happened now in putting questions to the commission chairman is that we have come up against questions concerning ownership . The list could be continued: questions of leasing, land, land tenure... But, after all, there is a draft law on the general principles of the leadership of the economy. Why are we beginning from the wrong end, attending to partial issues, before we have worked out the basic principles? We have not defined ownership in the USSR and we are discussing ownership in Lithuania, Estonia, the Ukraine, or wherever. In my opinion this is wrong. We must begin from the beginning, not from the end.

[Gutiontov] Does this mean that you voted against the draft law?

[Ivashko] I voted in favor, but not because someone had convinced me by furnishing incontrovertible economic proof. I voted in this way exclusively for political, or even, if you like, "pedagogical" reasons, because it is impossible to act as an obstruction. However, at the same time, we must not forget that it is impossible to "build communism" in one separate area. And the fact that one territory somewhere switches to economic accountability will, I am afraid, produce nothing of substance. A vivid example of this are the restrictions, now rapidly spreading throughout the Soviet Union, on the sales of goods to people who do not live locally. It originated in the same Baltic republics, then the same procedure was introduced in Kaliningrad Oblast, and even here in the Ukraine the question is now being raised: If "they" refuse to sell to us, why should "we" sell to them? It is like an epidemic. It may spread very fast and divide people not only according to national origins but also according to where they live. And that is very dangerous.

I repeat, what is needed are decisions which apply to everyone. Take the interrepublic exchange, for instance. If we compare today in actual prices what the Ukraine imports and what it exports, we will see that the republic lives with a deficit totaling around R6 billion. However if this is converted into world prices, a totally different picture emerges. This means that it is necessary above all to sit down and come to an agreement about prices without which all attempts to switch to regional economic accountability are futile. I will let you into a little secret... What question of economic accountability can there be in agriculture, for instance, if the following situation applies? Purchasing prices for meat, as you know, are fixed centrally. Thus in 1988 the marketing price per tonne of pork was set at R1,896 in the Ukraine, while in Lithuania, for example, it totaled R2,897. What is the explanation? But let us proceed with our calculations: The prime cost of pork in our republic is R1,946 per tonne. This means a 3 percent loss rather than a profit. In Lithuania the prime cost is R2,128. Yet their profit margin is 36 percent... Comrades, try and tell any capitalist that despite a higher prime cost people are making a bigger profit and he will laugh himself silly!.. What question of economic accountability can there be if right now the best thing the Ukraine could do is to do away with pig breeding overnight?

[Gutiontov] What is the explanation given by the people who established this system, what were they guided by?

[Ivashko] I believe that they were guided by the belief that we would pull up our socks, while others might take umbrage, which was to be avoided... "Secrets" of this kind abound.... Therefore we firmly believe that it is necessary as soon as possible to ensure the introduction of economically substantiated wholesale prices for products of every kind, be it Central Asian cotton, Kazakh wool, Tyumen petroleum, our metal, electricity, or pork, and so forth. And when prices are fixed appropriately, as it should be done, and is done throughout the world, then we can sit down and talk. It is true that specific features and characteristics exist, land-rent factors, so to speak, exist. But there are ways of creaming off additional profits or providing subsidies in order to assist people in a given area.

Now judge for yourself: Is it we who are lagging in implementing, for instance, the economic reform, or is it our whole statewide system which has as yet been slow to restructure itself, rather than just we ourselves?

[Gutiontov] Vladimir Antonovich, but you will agree that despite the fundamental importance of what you are saying, people tend to apply the concept of perestroyka not just to economic reform.

[Ivashko] Of course. However, merely by proclaiming the slogan—"All power to the Soviets!"—we will not actually succeed in handing over power to the Soviets before this power is backed up economically. This slogan will remain dead, because neither today's soviet, nor a new soviet, no matter how democratically elected, will not be in control on its territory. Especially in economic and financial terms. After all, today the negligible soviet budget contain only what has been allocated from above. True, there are some local sources of finance, but they do not play a decisive role.

Go to any rural soviet and ask: Who is against power to be handed over to the soviet in this village? You will find no one. Everyone is in favor of handing power over to the rural soviet. However, the soviet has no power, nor can it have any as long as the rural soviet chairman is forced to go cap in hand to the collective farm [kolkhoz] board in order to request money for diverse purposes. He who pays the piper calls the tune. Everyone knows that.

Moreover, at present the republic disposes only of 5 percent of the industrial output produced on its territory. Future projects envisage increasing this figure to 42 percent, but even that is a long way from complete independence.

[Gutiontov] The number of complaints from the Ukraine in the IZVESTIYA mailbag is rising, while their nature has not changed for years—high-handedness on the part of local authorities, suppression of democracy and glasnost, persecution for criticism, and absence of support from Kiev in cases of this kind... To what extent, would you say, is the conflict in Zhitomir typical, involving Yaroshinskaya, a local journalist and now USSR people's deputy? Our newspaper has published three articles on this subject, and I must say outright that this case cannot be regarded as closed...

[Ivashko] It seems to me that it was closed by the voters in making their choice.

[Gutiontov] Yes, of course. But I am afraid that even that has not ended the conflict. I am referring to letters about what has been happening in Zhitomir SINCE the elections, and Yaroshinskaya's statement at the congress, and her appeal to the prosecutor general...

[Ivashko] I will say bluntly that I believe that in this case the oblast party committee [obkom] first secretary acted under the spell of old stereotypes. That is obvious to me. As for the subsequent events, they will have to be carefully examined individually.

[Gutiontov] Nonetheless, it would be nice to have some sort of mechanism which would make it possible to resolve conflicts of this kind at least to some extent democratically, since describing this as a "dispute" between a rank-and-file staffer of the oblast newspaper and the obkom first secretary is very difficult. You will also agree that the fact that the central press has intervened so actively in this conflict of wills is not significant...

[Ivashko] I do not want to talk in platitudes, but you probably understand very well that changing a society overnight is impossible and this includes journalists, as well as first secretaries, trade workers, writers, and cosmonauts. Therefore it would not be sensible for me to try and take sides in every conflict. However, it nonetheless seems to me that if the Zhitomir Obkom first secretary had another chance, he would behave differently in the course of the election campaign. You must understand, we cannot discount people's personal ambitions, and this is what everyone suffers from, journalists and party officials included. And what is more, these ambitions sometimes take this form precisely with the assistance of our mass media.

[Gutiontov] At present, Vladimir Antonovich, it is fashionable to accuse the press of all but deliberately "undermining the authority of the party." We get to hear reproaches of this kind following the publication of virtually every critical article, especially from those whom we have criticized...

[Ivashko] You know, if you come across a person who claims that he likes being the target of criticism, do not believe him—he is a liar and a rogue. It is possible to love a blonde woman or a brunette, or even cherry dumplings, but not criticism. It is therefore all the more important for anyone who has been the target of criticism to summon up enough strength to understand the difference, the vast difference between the authority of the office, of the post which he occupies, and his authority as a person. When the press "denounces" a specific official for bad work or unworthy conduct, this is no reason to claim, I believe, that the party as a whole is being "denounced." However, there are cases where party officials as a "collective term" are being criticized. Are you not aware of this?

[Gutiontov] Against the backdrop of the ethnic, social, and economic explosions which have rocked different parts of the country, the situation in the Ukraine appears very stable. At the same time many people are claiming (deputies also mentioned this at the congress, for instance) that this is a stability which stems from stagnation which has still to be overcome in the republic... Judging by a report which was published in PRAVDA, the Zaporozhye party aktiv also revealed that forces which are resolutely opposed to change still wield a lot of influence in the republic. This leads to the conclusion that too many "old" cadres remain ensconced in the Ukraine which are still hankering after the sense of political comfort which they were guaranteed in the past. What is your attitude to this theory?

[Ivashko] I find it difficult to agree with you when you speak about a cadre stagnation that allegedly exists in the Ukraine. Let us look at the situation purely in statistical terms. Since the 27th CPSU Congress 15 of the 26 obkom first secretaries in the republic have been replaced, of which in two obkoms twice. Some 80 percent of party city committee [gorkom] and rayon committee [raykom] secretaries have been replaced. Or take a look at the Central Committee: Four of six Central Committee secretaries have been replaced; and the republic government has been renewed to almost two-thirds... You will agree that this is quite a lot in 4 years and that it does not exactly bear out the claim about cadre stagnation. Naturally, the mere replacement of one leading official with another says little about the pace of perestroyka. After all, it is possible to replace someone every month, however I do not believe that this would be the most convincing proof of renewal.

Therefore I would like to dwell on qualitative changes. For instance, we are now switching to multiple-choice elections of leaders at all levels, and I regard this as one of the key elements of perestroyka: People are actually electing their leader, rather than creating a semblance of elections. In my opinion, it is very important for a party organization, be it at republic, oblast, city, or rayon level, when deciding who should hold a specific post, to put up three, five, or more candidates. I have just come back from Rovno where an obkom plenum elected a new first secretary. He was elected from three candidates and prior to the elections these candidacies were discussed at local level. Incidentally, not everywhere did this pass equally successfully since in some places the proposal was put forward: Why don't they send someone from Kiev.

[Gutiontov] Were they suggesting anyone in particular?

[Ivashko] No. But there were proposals to this effect. Addressing the obkom plenum I said that, in view of the oblast's cadre potential, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee sees no reason for recommending anybody... As a result, the elections were businesslike, in my opinion: There was a clash, in the best sense of the word, of stances, views, and approaches.

We are now trying to act along these lines virtually everywhere. The Transcarpathian Obkom second secretary has just been elected from four candidates, and from two candidates in Poltava...

Returning to the question of hankering after political comfort, I will say that it cannot be resolved through the mechanical replacement of one lot of officials with another, but rather through changing the principle of cadre replacement itself. I am a convinced champion of the election of leaders from lower to higher ranks. This is of fundamental importance since it is impossible to change the system by replacing one high-handed official with another. The system will remain the same, a command system, only the commander will have been changed.

Both at the congress and the session there were calls to remove this person or to replace that person... These moods intensified in particular after the miners' strikes. I believe that a humane approach should predominate in the reforms that are being implemented. This does not mean a dithering attitude, total license, or liberalism toward people who are really to blame for something. An individual approach is necessary here.

[Gutiontov] Are you saying that, in your opinion, it is necessary to resolutely renounce the idea of "sweeping" cadre changes?

[Ivashko] Precisely. Is it perhaps correct to keep labeling now one group, now another as enemies? For the sole reason that they to not fit in precisely with someone's idea of given reforms. People are people, a suddenly acquired awareness, a sudden switch from applauding one person to applauding another, do not essentially change anything. Moreover, I do not believe in the feasibility of such transformations. On the other hand it is necessary to grasp that there always have been, are, and will be people who make mistakes. Otherwise society would stop being a society—a conglomerate of different human personalities.

[Gutiontov] Nonetheless, returning to the situation at the Zaporozhye party aktiv... In your opinion, how widespread are the moods resembling those which were displayed on the rostrum?

[Ivashko] I believe that they are fairly widespread, and we are trying to alter this situation. However, you will agree that it is impossible to live disregarding the circumstances which have taken shape. We are aware that the wave of criticism in society is running fairly high. It has to be borne in mind that even during the years of perestroyka, decisions which were not properly thought out, and in some instances even erroneous decisions, have been taken at all levels, including union level. They include examples of the anti-alcohol campaign which set the teeth on edge, and individual provisions of the laws on the cooperative system, the state enterprise, and... Or take the measures which have caused the runaway money supply, not forgetting that it was above all the center which released this money...

There is also another aspect to this question. While in the past efforts were made to always pass the buck downward, to blame some sluggish official somewhere, to blame the little man who had served as the universal scapegoat for so long, the reverse process is now very much in evidence: The center is blamed for everything. It is enough to cite two or three factual examples, and I myself, as it were, am absolved of all my shortcomings, of which I may have a great many more than that very center.

This phenomenon is highly characteristic not just of Zaporozhye, you may believe me. Just take a look at the materials of the April Central Committee Plenum, or the materials of the of first secretaries' conference at the party Central Committee in July... The same trend prevails... Although I must admit that I, too, agree with many of the criticisms leveled at the center.

[Gutiontov] It seems that the so-called informal movements in the Ukraine have not yet developed to the level of the fronts formed in the Baltic republics, for instance...

[Ivashko] However, we are "successfully" moving in that direction...

[Gutiontov] And what is your attitude to these processes?

[Ivashko] I have given a great deal of thought to this and I can formulate my attitude, my stance in this respect with utmost accuracy. Without the awakening of all the social forces there would be no perestroyka. Take the "Greens," for instance, the ecological movement. I regard their activities as beneficial and very useful. They greatly contribute to the struggle against departmental pressure which is still being applied regardless of everything. The same can be said also about other movements, awkward and noisy though they may be and not always capable of accurately assessing a given situation, but that is not the main point.

At the same time I, just like everyone else, can see that there are also movements whose objectives differ greatly from the aspirations of perestroyka. Despite the fact that their facade is frequently painted in perestroyka colors. I am referring above all to the creation of destructive political formations which are based on the personal ambitions of their leaders or some other considerations... Specifically, with regard to our republic, but not only our republic, I would like to single out such a dangerous trend as the nationalist movement, not to mince words. Nationalism has caused the Ukraine much trouble and suffering. However, even now we perceive behind certain outwardly pro-perestroyka slogans a desire to push through nationalist ideas. However anyone with any sense has grasped by now that nationalism has nothing in common with what it sometimes uses as a cover—the striving to preserve national culture, language, and traditions—all that without which a people really cannot live.

[Gutiontov] What, in your opinion, can be used to counter nationalism in the present situation?

[Ivashko] Above all the internationalist spirit which is inherent in the people... And wherever nationalism and a desire to sow strife between people rear their head, the law must be applied, and applied more resolutely than we are doing now.

[Gutiontov] The task of preserving and reviving national culture and language is inextricably tied up with the national question. The experience gained in other republics has shown up the complex problems which may arise in this sphere. How do you propose to tackle them in the Ukraine?

[Ivashko] The draft law "On Languages in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] has been submitted for broad discussion a few days ago. What can I say about its main provisions? It is proposed that Ukrainian be recognized as the state language and at the same time provision is made for the Ukrainian SSR to ensure the free use of Russian as the language of inter-nation communication. In areas predominantly inhabited by citizens of other nationalities, their national languages may be used alongside the state language in state, party, and social organs, enterprises, and institutions.

In other words, when drafting the law on languages, and also the procedure for implementing it, we could not but take account of the fact that the Ukraine is a major state. The western oblasts are one thing; the Donbass, the Dnepr region, and Kharkov oblast are something quite different; while Tavriya and the Polesye have their own features. Economic and demographic features, features based on the structure, traditions, and the historical experience of the population—after all, the Ukraine has by no means had a common history throughout the ages. Take a look at this: Of the republic population of 52 million, 11 million are Russians, and approximately 3.5 million are other nationalities—Belorussians, Jews, Hungarians, Poles, Greeks, Bulgarians, and Gagauz. It is the duty of every person to respect the language, culture, and traditions of neighboring peoples.

[Gutiontov] It is alarming that wherever this question has already been discussed, it did not pass without conflicts, mutual insults, and suspicions. The latest example of this kind was Moldavia...

[Ivashko] As far as I know, the main cause of conflict in Moldavia was the proposal to declare Moldavian as the language of inter-nation communication throughout the republic. I believe that people of other nationalities saw this as a basis for possible discrimination in job placement and taking up specific posts.

We, as you can see, are proposing another solution although there are many champions of the "Moldavian option" in our republic too. I do not share this viewpoint.

[Gutiontov] Could you say a few words about the problem of the Crimean Tatars?

[Ivashko] The situation in this context is very complex. It is obvious to everyone now that an injustice which cannot be justified or explained in any way was inflicted on the Crimean Tatars. It is clear that justice must be restored—just as in respect of all illegally repressed peoples.

It would seem that a solution of this question is close at hand: Why not let them all return to their homeland forthwith. Complex economic conditions and even more mundane considerations relating to day-to-day life prevent this. After all, over the past 45 years a new population has formed in the Crimea, people have grown up there for whom the Crimea is also their home, and they cannot simply be sent packing.

Therefore the problem lies above all in creating the necessary socioeconomic base for the mass resettlement of the Tatars in the Crimea. It is necessary to create housing and jobs, that is enterprises where they could apply their abilities... And much else is needed to ensure normal living conditions for people. As I see it, it is simply impossible today to resolve such a problem with a single signature. A USSR Supreme Soviet commission is studying the problem of the Crimean Tatars, examining all its many facets, and I believe that it will not be long before it produces its conclusions and proposals. And then the Supreme Soviet will have to weigh up everything carefully, proceeding from the interests of both, the Crimean Tatars and those who inhabit the Crimea today.

At the moment the number of Crimean Tatars who are resettling in the Crimea is rising and totals tens of thousands already. When this process is taking place gradually, there are fewer complications, but they do exist nonetheless.

[Gutiontov] Have there been any interethnic excesses in the Crimea to date?

[Ivashko] No serious ones, although there have been signs of this. It is enough for a road accident to occur, and immediately it is given an ethnic slant... None of this has so far exploded into major troubles, although there is evidence of a certain amount of tension. And the more flexibly this problem is tackled, once again on an internationalist basis, the fewer pretexts for a confrontation will there be, in my opinion. In order to resolve this complex problem which we have inherited we need common sense and humanity.

[Gutiontov] And the last question, Vladimir Antonovich. The recently published draft law on local elections has attracted serious criticism in the republic. Many people believe that the Ukrainian draft compounds the shortcomings of the union law which have been revealed... A few days ago the republic press published a statement of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Legislative Proposals Commission about some sort of alternative drafts. Could you elaborate?

[Ivashko] I will tell you all the details. Following the publication of the draft law, a group of USSR people's deputies from the Ukraine met and after this meeting the Lvov youth newspaper published a resolution signed by 38 deputies. It stated in part that an independent commission had been set up which will draw up alternative draft laws. This would be done by 1 September, and as early as 2 September this alternative draft was to be discussed and adopted at rallies. It is true that I fail to see how all this could be done so quickly, but what is even more important is that the authors of the resolution put forward the following demand: Unless their alternative draft was adopted, they would call on the population of the republic to stage a general strike.

Since all this was publicly announced, it is impossible to pretend that nothing has happened. And since no alternative drafts have so far been submitted to the Supreme Soviet, although people know that there is supposed to be some kind of a draft, we came out with the statement which you have mentioned.

Incidentally, the statement emphasizes that any draft that is submitted will be examined by the Supreme Soviet commission. However there is only one, constitutional way to pass a law. Laws are not adopted in the square, even if certain people are trying to demonstrate a "lack of confidence" in the present republic Supreme Soviet.

...This, like everything that we have talked about today graphically illustrates the complexity of the processes engendered by perestroyka. It may seem to some people that their life was more tranquil in the past.

But there simply is no other way for us today.

Reportage on Proceedings of 6th AUCCTU Plenum

5 Sep Proceedings

18280281 Moscow TRUD in Russian
6 Sep 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Informational Report on the Plenum of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions"]

[Text] The 6th Plenum of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] began its work in Moscow yesterday.

On the plenum's agenda are:
1. The current situation and the urgent tasks of the trade unions.
2. The results of the discussion of the USSR draft law, "On the Rights of USSR Trade Unions."
3. On the work of the work of the group of USSR people's deputies from the trade unions.
4. Organizational matters.

Participants in the plenum's work include USSR people's deputies from the trade unions, a number of members of the USSR Supreme Soviet from among workers, representatives of central committees and councils of trade unions which are not AUCCTU members, leaders of a number of ministries and departments, trade unions' central committee bureau chairmen in leadership of the Moscow trade unions, a group of trade union central committee senior organizers, chairmen of trade union committees, strike committee members from Donetsk, Karaganda, Voroshilovgrad, and Kemerovo Oblasts, and student trade union committee chairmen from a number of higher educational institutions.

AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev spoke on the matters of "The Current Situation and the Urgent Problems of the Trade Unions" and "The Results of the Discussion of the USSR Draft Law 'On the Rights of USSR Trade Unions'."

Plenum participants were given the opportunity for preliminary familiarization with the USSR draft law, "On the Rights of USSR Trade Unions."

The following participated in the discussion of the speech: V.I. Romanov, chairman of the Kemerovo Oblast Council of Trade Unions; V.G. Dybal, chairman of the trade union committee of the "BelavtoMAZ" Belorussian Freight Vehicle Production Association; F.A. Prokopenko, senior roll-press operator of the sheet-metal rolling shop of the Novolipetsk Metallurgical Combine; F.S. Sderzhikov, chairman of the Donetsk Oblast Council of Trade Unions; I.A. Shinkevich, chairman of the Central Committee of Trade Unions of Railroad Transportation Workers and Transportation Construction; K.V. Fedotov, docker of the Leningrad commercial seaport; E. Zhakselekov, chairman of the Kazakh Republic Council of Trade Unions; V.I. Andriyauskas, party committee secretary, "Elektrons" Latvian Republic Production Association; A.V. Khrapach, secretary of the Gukovo (Rostov Oblast) Territorial Trade Union Committee of Coal Industry Workers; L.M. Bidlyuchenko, cutter, "Voroshilovgradteplovoz" Compressed Storage Site Production Association; V.A.Yarin, machine operator, Nizhnetagil Metallurgical Combine; T.S. Maksimova, chairman of the Republic Committee of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Education and Science Workers' Trade Union; V.P. Shcherbakov, chairman, Moscow City Council of Trade Unions; K. Mollaniyazov, master drilling repairman, administration of oil and gas extraction "Nebitdagneft" of the "Turkmenneft" Production Association; V.I. Goncharik, chairman of the Belorussian Council of Trade Unions; B.K. Borodin, chairman of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of the Chemical and Petrochemical Industry Workers; A.I. Repeyko, rolling mill operator of the "Zavod imeni Malyshev" Production Association; A.T. Popravka, electric train engineer, "Novosibirsk" engine depot, Northern Siberian Railroad; G.F. Budyak, trade union committee chairman of the Moscow Aviation Institute; L.A. Yakovlev, chairman of the Central Committee of the Automotive Transportation and Highway Workers' Trade Union; D.A. Akkoshkarov, brigadier miner of the Mine imeni 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution of the "Karagandaugol" Production Association; V.L. Vasilyev, trade union committee chairman of the "Kuybyshevneft" Production Association; V.V. Kuzmenok, Central Committee chairman of the Fishing Economy Workers' Trade Union; L.M. Vernigora, chairman of the Poltava Oblast Council of Trade Unions, and L.A. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

V.M. Chebrikov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, and Ye.Z. Razumov, first deputy chief of the Department of Party Building and Cadre Policy participated in the plenum's work.

The AUCCTU plenum will continue its work today.

6 Sep Meeting Summed Up

18280282 Moscow TRUD in Russian
7 Sep 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Informational Report on the Plenum of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions"]

[Text] The 6th AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] Plenum continued its work in Moscow yesterday.

The following participated in the discussion of AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev's speech, "The Current Situation and the Urgent Tasks of the Trade Unions": M.B. Ryzhikov, Central Committee chairman of the Agroindustrial Complex Workers Trade Union; Z.V. Belaya, equipment operator of the "Azot" Grodnenskiy Production Association; B.V. Perevezentsev, brigadier sheet-metal worker of the "Zavod Krasnoye Sormovo," chairman of the STK [Council of Labor Collectives]; P.K. Taov, chairman of the Kabardino-Balkar Oblast Council of Trade Unions; M.A. Pedak, chairman of the Estonian Republic Council of Trade Unions; I.I. Volodina, master of mechanized milking at the "Leninskiy Luch" kolkhoz [collective farm] of Krasnogorskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast; M. Salikhov, chairman of the Tajik Republic Council of Trade Unions; N.L. Godovichenko, chairman of the Nikolayev Oblast Council of Trade Unions; M.V. Popov, chairman, Department of Scientific Communism of the University of Marxism-Leninism, Leningrad Oblast CPSU Committee; B.M. Khodyrev, chairman of the Organizational Committee, Nakhodka Oil and Fat Combine; V.G. Pugiyev, chairman of the Central Council for Tourism and Excursions; A.A. Abdullayev, chairman of the Central Asian Railroad Trade Union Committee of Railroad Transportation Workers; N.L. Matrosova, pensioner (Moscow); V.P. Larin, chairman of the Trade Union Committee of the Ryazan Factory of Analytical Calculating Machines; M.I. Knyazev, chairman of the Karaganda Oblast Council of Trade Unions; A.I. Baranov, chairman of the Trade Union Committee of the Leningrad "Izhorskiy Zavod" Production Association; V.I. Kirillov, senior scientific associate of the Voronezh Polytechnical Institute, Yu.V. Stupin, chairman of the Central Council on Trade Union Resort Administration, and A.A. Shchepak, chairman of the Trade Union of the Shevyakov Mine (Kemerovo Oblast).

During his reply to the discussion, AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev answered the plenum participants' questions.

Taking into consideration the proposals expressed in the debates over the speech, and in the course of the discussion of the drafts, the plenum adopted the resolutions "On the Current Situation and the Urgent Tasks of the Trade Unions," "On the Results of the Discussion of the USSR Draft Law, 'On the Rights of USSR Trade Unions'" and the statement "On the Growth in Prices and Goods in Short Supply, and the Soviet People's Standard of Living," and "On the Serious Distortions in the Cooperative Movement." The body of the AUCCTU Commission for the preparation of a new edition of the USSR Trade Unions Charter was confirmed by the plenum's resolution.

AUCCTU Secretary G.I. Yanayev spoke "On the Work of the Group of USSR People's Deputies from the Trade Unions." Eleven people participated in the discussion of the article. The plenum adopted the corresponding resolution.

The plenum considered organizational matters.

In light of their retirement, the plenum relieved V.G. Lomonosov of his responsibilities as AUCCTU deputy chairman, and V.P. Protopopov of his responsibilities as AUCCTU secretary and AUCCTU Presidium member. A decision was made to relieve AUCCTU Presidium members I.I. Gladkiy and A.I. Petrovicheva of their responsibilities due to retirement and state of health, respectively.

The plenum elected to deputy chairmen I.Ye. Klochkov and G.I Yanayev, who have previously functioned as AUCCTU secretaries.

The plenum elected to AUCCTU secretary and AUCCTU Presidium member G.S. Bashtanyuk, who has previously functioned as chairman of the Tatar Oblast Council of Trade Unions.

The decision was made to elect F.A. Prokopenko, senior roll-press operator of the sheet-metal rolling shop of the Novolipetsk Metallurgical Combine imeni Yu.V. Andropov, to AUCCTU Presidium member.

The plenum transferred O.Ye. Grishina, a student at Moscow State University imeni Lomonosov, from AUCCTU Presidium candidate-member and elected her AUCCTU Presidium member.

The decision was made to transfer the following from AUCCTU candidates to members: V.D. Atorvin, driver brigadier of the Fokino Autotransportation Enterprise, Bryansk Oblast; Z.V. Belaya, equipment operator of the "Azot" Grodnenskiy Production Association, Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]; V.P. Yegorov, repairman of the Segezho Paper and Pulp Combine, Karelian ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic]; G.A. Selizanova, optical polisher, "Krasnogorskiy Zavod" Production Association imeni S.A. Zverev, Moscow Oblast; V.A. Strelets, brigadier of the combined brigade of docker-machine operators of the Odessa commercial sea port, Ukrainian SSR, and V.A. Chuvasheva, plasterer-painter, "Altaysvinatstroy" Trust, Eastern Kazakh Oblast, Kazakh SSR.

With this, the AUCCTU Plenum completed its work.

Ye.Z. Razumov, first deputy chief of the Department of Party Building and Cadre Policy, participated in the plenum's work.

Chairman Shalayev Views Tasks

18280280 Moscow TRUD in Russian 6 Sep 89 pp 1-3

[Speech by S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, at the 6th AUCCTU Plenum held on 6 September 1989: "Current Situation and Urgent Tasks of the Trade Unions"]

[Text] Comrades!

The AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] plenum is to determine the position and urgent tasks of the trade unions of our country in the current tense sociopolitical and socioeconomic situation.

What is the essence of the current situation? The country is going through a critical period of perestroyka. The radical economic, social, political, and spiritual transformations occur in a complex and contradictory manner.

On the one hand, the processes of perestroyka, having permeated all strata of our society, have reached labor collectives, the working people. Democratization, glasnost, and politicization of the masses are mounting. The election campaign, the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, and the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet have given a mighty impetus to this. The economic reform has also affected all the spheres of operations and the fundamental interests of the workers.

On the other hand, at present the working class, the workers are clearly not satisfied with the pace of perestroyka, and primarily with the incomplete, undecided nature of measures for carrying out the economic reform. The transition to new forms of economic operations, economic accountability, and self-management is being held up at various levels of management and under all kinds of pretexts; legitimate rights of labor collectives are being flouted.

The rank-and-file workers and their collectives are hit most painfully by the imbalances in monetary circulation and the consumer market, the mounting shortage of the most basic goods, the increasing acuteness of the foodstuffs and housing problems, distortions in the cooperative movement, rampaging speculation, and increasing crime rate.

In a word, the results of perestroyka to date do not justify the increased hopes of the Soviet people for changes for the better.

The social tension is aggravated by negative processes in the spiritual sphere, declining labor discipline, order in production and morality among a segment of the population. Conflicts in interethnic relations cause particular concern and destabilization in our society.

In this environment, a crisis of confidence in the sociopolitical structures, including the trade unions, is mounting. The conviction that the workers are deprived of real devices for influencing socioeconomic decisions and controlling their execution has spread widely among them. All of this has prompted the working class to independently enter the arena of struggle for its socioeconomic rights and interests for the first time in the years of perestroyka. The country has been literally shaken by the mass strikes of miners and conflicts in a number of other sectors of the national economy and regions.

The current sociopolitical situation in our country has raised the issue of the place and role of trade unions in the Soviet society in an acute and new manner.

Our plenum must respond to this challenge of the time and design measures aimed at a resolute reinforcement of the position of trade unions as an advocate of the legal rights and interests of the workers.

Lessons and Conclusions From the Workers Strikes

We must primarily draw the most serious and principled conclusions from the mass strikes of workers. According to the data we have, in the course of last year and this year, they have been held in 40 oblasts, krays, autonomous and union republics, at enterprises of the coal and metallurgical industries, highway transportation, the construction materials industry, and a number of other industries.

An analysis of these events shows that dissatisfaction with the organization of labor, neglect for the social sphere, and the financial difficulties which exist are the main causes of strikes. The workers associate this to a considerable degree with the economic reform spinning its wheels and with the economic independence of enterprises and regions being absent.

After all, it is a fact that many collectives continue to remain without any rights from the economic and legal points of view, cannot distribute the profit they have generated; that is, they are not the masters of their own enterprise. One of the USSR people's deputies expressed this situation very pointedly in his speech at the Supreme Soviet session. He said: "Do the owners go on strike?"

Therefore, by taking part in strikes, the workers have nonetheless yet again expressed their resolute support for perestroyka, albeit in this very acute and dramatic manner which is unusual in our society. They quite justifiably saw the reason for difficulties in the shortage of their economic rights.

The situation in labor collectives was also heated up by grave violations of the existing provisions on remuneration for labor, including work on night and evening shifts, switching to new pay scales, and so on. The people are tired of working on "black Saturdays" for years, without common days off, at times under very difficult conditions.

As we say, all of these issues have been "put on the agenda" and "raised," they have been the subject of consideration at all kinds of economic and trade union forums, including at the branch level. However, most promises of the local administration, as well as of the ministries, have not been kept. The social tension has been increasing gradually, whereas the authority of the trade unions as the advocate of workers has declined. The workers have preferred to express their protest against grave violations of social justice and administrative arbitrariness through strike and job-action committees rather than through their trade union organizations.

What did the trade union organizations do under the circumstances?

Their actions were far from unambiguous. Some took the side of the strikers without hesitation, put representatives on strike committees, participated in working out their demands, arranged supplies and food service, took care of order, discipline, and safety at enterprises. Others, including many committees of the trade unions of railway transportation workers, workers of the oil, gas, and chemical industries, and some other branches concentrated their efforts in this complex situation on resolving labor conflicts in a timely manner, averting their aggravation. Many trade union committees which found themselves in the environment of grave social tension and faced the need to make rapid principled decisions were taken aback, displayed timidity, and yielded the initiative to other social forces, thus failing to discharge their main responsibility—to always be with the workers, to stand together with them.

We have no reason to blame only the trade union committees themselves. The overall lag of trade unions and their internal activities behind the transformations underway in the country, behind increased requirements, the habit to receive commands from on high inherited from the past, the willingness to be content with half-measures and once again put themselves in the position of the management of an enterprise, the leaders of the industry and the government were a factor.

We must summon up our courage and admit that all of these are old ills of our trade union movement, to which we have grown accustomed and which we tried not to notice until recently.

The trade unions have gradually become somehow built into the administrative-economic system and distanced themselves from their main responsibility. The lack of conflicts (unanimity of the trade union organ and its economic partner, the merging of their interests and goals), and the perception by workers that the director and the trade union committee will always come to terms between themselves have become commonplace. This has been facilitated by the multifaceted functions of the trade unions, the blurred limits of their responsibilities, and the duty to participate in everything everywhere which has been forced on them.

I would like to stress that the July events have taught us one more significant lesson. They have shown the degree to which the strike is a powerful but double-edged weapon. On the one hand, it immediately grabs the attention of the supreme state, government, and party echelons, of the entire country. The process of searching for a solution and arriving at acceptable compromises is accelerated. Within days and weeks issues which have been awaiting their turn for years and decades are resolved. Therefore, the strike is a strong argument in defending the interests of workers. The trade unions were right in supporting it, and it is absolutely obvious that they should use the strike as a weapon in the future and resort to it when all other means of conflict resolution have been exhausted.

At the same time, we cannot fail to see that by its other side the weapon of strike harms the striking collectives themselves and their long-range interests. A most powerful blow is struck at the economy of the country and, through it, at the populace and its standard of living. Direct damage due to the miners' strike amounts to the loss of 7 million tons of coal and 60 percent of stope capacity which was put out of commission due to high gas and water content. All expenditures by the state will amount to billions of rubles. Concern for the interests of workers, the future of the country, democracy, and perestroyka prompt us to be extremely responsible in using strikes as a means of resolving labor conflicts. We cannot share the euphoria which has gripped some mass media in their one-sided assessment of mass strikes and their consequences, in an attempt to make strikes absolute as the only means of struggle by the working class, as a panacea for all our contemporary troubles and problems.

The strike is an exceptional, extreme measure. We need a reliable and effective mechanism of timely resolution of conflict situations which develop in order to resort to this measure less frequently.

As you know, the AUCCTU has advocated the adoption of a special legislative act on setting up such procedures since as early as last year. Finally, as early as April of this year, the AUCCTU together with the government submitted a draft of the Ukase on Collective Labor Conflicts envisaging procedures for resolving them to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. We have to regret that the people's deputies of the trade unions and the AUCCTU did not manage to insist on its priority consideration by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

At present, it is clear that under the circumstances it was altogether necessary for the AUCCTU to issue at least a provisional directive on our position on resolving collective labor conflicts for the local organizations. We did so, but belatedly; we did not grasp the entire acuteness of the moment on time. However, these belong rather among the issues of tactics.

At present, the USSR Supreme Soviet has submitted the draft Law on the Procedures for Resolving Collective Labor Disputes for discussion by the entire people. Trade unions are the ones most interested in this document being discussed profoundly and comprehensively in labor collectives and primary organizations in order for their suggestions and amendments to be considered as soon as the fall session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. We and the entire society need this law aimed at defending the interests of workers.

Central Task of Trade Union Organizations—Defending the Interests of workers

Comrades! The workers, the working class of our country who are facing new conditions and new relations of production demand from their trade unions approaches to discharging their responsibilities which are new in principle, a drastic turn toward defending the legitimate rights and interests of the working man, and genuinely independent and principled mutual relations with the state and economic organizations and soviets of people's deputies in the center and in the field.

Of course, this is a very serious issue, one of tremendous political significance. We would like to discuss it in depth at our plenum and consult you on what is to be done first of all, what our urgent tasks consist of. Time is short.

The AUCCTU Presidium believes it necessary to state a number of considerations of principle at the present plenum. First of all, the issue of reconsidering priorities in the operation of local trade union organizations and trade unions as a whole has arisen in the most definite form.

This is not at all to say that thus far the trade unions have been doing the wrong thing, have erred, and have interpreted their role, their place in the political system of society wrongly.

The trade unions have been, are, and will remain a Leninist school of unification, solidarity of workers, defense of their interests, a school of economic operations and management.

However, the priorities of the largest social organization of workers can and should be changed at every specific time span of history in keeping with the peculiarities of social development and the conditions under which it has to operate.

First of all, the situation in which trade union organizations and trade unions as a whole are finding themselves at present has changed abruptly. Indisputably the introduction of economic accountability and self-financing, of market and lease relations and cooperatives, the creation of enterprises with the participation of foreign capital considerably expand the economic independence of enterprises and facilitate increases in the efficiency of production. However, at the same time these very new forms of economic operations are accompanied by an entire array of negative manifestations directly harming the interests of workers and clerical employees in many cases, particularly at the stage of transition.

In many labor collectives, deformations have developed in the remuneration for labor; group egotism of individual categories of workers has been developing; the striving to secure the greatest possible profits faster has pushed caring for the health and recreation of people and ensuring safe conditions for their labor into the background. To the same end, the production of cheap goods is being "washed away," including goods for children and the elderly. Much to our distress, we are encountering more and more frequently cases whereby the collectives forget about the needs of their veterans and families with many children and push out women who have young children and employees who are sick often. The access to economically accountable collectives frequently turns out to be blocked for young people who have not yet managed to acquire sufficiently high skills.

This enumeration of the new problems and situations which arise may go on. There is no other social organization in the labor collective apart from the trade union one which is obligated by its duty, vocation, and position to speak out against these shortcomings and defend the legitimate interests of every working person by using its rights.

Of course trade unions have a vital interest in the development of production, in its efficiency and, on this basis, an improvement in the earnings and financial well-being of people. Proceeding from this, the production-mass and economic work was the focus of trade union activities. However, as members of the trade union justifiably observe, the protective function turned out to be suppressed by production concerns.

At present, the situation is changing. Currently the trade unions may and must exercise their influence on solving business and economic tasks primarily through the councils of labor collectives, through their representatives in this plenipotentiary organs of production self-management.

At present it is not anymore the trade union committees but the councils of labor collectives that are called upon, pursuant to the Law on State Enterprises, to be, in cooperation with the management, direct organizers of labor and production, struggle for the scientific-technical progress, high quality of output, and savings of material, fuel and energy resources. They are primarily the ones obligated to show concern for the training and professional improvement of cadres, comprehensive economic training, introduction of economic accountability within economic units, brigade forms of labor organization, lease and family contracts, and the development of social competition. That is to say, the councils of labor collectives and the trade union committees should both take care of their own business, discharge their direct responsibilities, and avoid duplication, which will ultimately make it possible to boost the role of both.

Proceeding from this, the AUCCTU Presidium is submitting for your consideration a proposal to support the position of the trade union aktiv on releasing trade union committees from direct organizational work associated with economic tasks, and within it, from production-mass work, as well as releasing them from an entire array of functions which are not the domain of the trade union committees, including those foisted on them by local party, soviet, and economic organs.

As early as at the 19th All-Union Party Conference, we noted that some party organs had come to interpret mutual relations between the party and the trade unions as the rigid meshing of gears in the gearbox, in the course of which any independence of trade union organizations is out of the question; it was considered admissible to interfere directly in the internal affairs of trade unions. Unfortunately this erroneous practice continues to occur.

Many trade union functionaries of the primary echelon are now complaining increasingly about having to disperse their attention, carry out simultaneously a great deal of various endeavors and assignments which are not their domain, such as the distribution of goods in short supply, provision of fuel, sales of lottery and other tickets, and so on and so forth. For example, why is it not possible for the management, the council of the labor collective, and the trade union committee to appoint for distributing the goods in short supply a special group of comrades reporting to the collective?

On top of this, the trade union committee is literally loaded down with various social organizations which for some reason it has a duty to help, frequently collect their dues instead of them, and often do their work. All of these organizations are independent. Our tutelage only serves to reduce their responsibility for their own work. Why should the trade union committee watch over the activities of, say, the organizations of VOIR [All-Union Society of Inventors and Efficiency Experts], OSVOD [Society for the Development of Water Transportation and for the Safeguarding of Human Lives on Waterways], DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for Assistance to the Army, Air Force, and Navy], societies of philatelists, amateurs of books and others? There are more than 200 such societies at present! The trade union aktiv also draws our attention to many responsibilities which the trade unions themselves have assumed on their initiative, for example, organization of tourism, movie services, and so on. Of course, this is not at all to say that that there are some forbidden issues for the trade union committee. As a spokesman for the interests of workers, the committee independently sets its priorities, determines its tasks, and its position on any issue; the committee should defend them proceeding from the specific need and its rights.

Today we must clearly declare once again at the plenum that no one has the right to foist on the trade unions the responsibilities which do not belong to them, make them do the work of other social entities, of administrative and economic personnel, and thus distract them from accomplishing their main task—defending the legitimate interests of the employee.

Under new conditions, under the conditions of perestroyka, trade unions should redefine the scope of responsibilities which they should play the main role in discharging. Defending the legitimate interests of employees is the central responsibility and the highest priority among them

You know that the AUCCTU has made efforts to turn the trade unions around toward this responsibility, toward the employee. However, as you see, these turns are being performed in an inadmissibly slow manner. This is indicated by sharp but justified critical statements by the members of trade unions, by the employees.

We should say frankly that the AUCCTU, central, and all other committees of industry trade unions are involved to a particularly small degree in the issues of wages and financial incentives. This is the only possible explanation for the inefficiency and confusion in the system of remunerations for labor in effect which have become particularly apparent under the new conditions for economic operations, for miscalculations, and often direct distortions, in the course of introducing new pay scales and salaries, for unjustified increases in production quotas and reductions in the categories of workers, for numerous cases of failure to pay salaries on time, for outright cheating, and, the other way around, for the payment of funds which have not been earned. It is exactly the violations of social justice in remuneration for labor that bring about mass labor conflicts and strikes.

The unsatisfactory status of conditions of labor and occupational safety causes equally serious dissatisfaction in many labor collectives. There is a reason for this. To this day, between 10 and 26 percent of workers in the machinebuilding complex, in the coal, chemical, light, and timber industries, at the enterprises of ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy work under conditions which are altogether beneath human dignity. In these industries, the incidence of occupational diseases is 3 to 8 times higher than the average in the country.

Thus, in a majority of shops of the Chusovskoy Metallurgical Plant the dust and gas content is 10 times greater than the admissible level, and at individual work stations up to 50 times greater. At the Kommunarsk Metallurgical Combine in Voroshilovgrad Oblast, 90 percent of work stations are not in compliance with sanitary standards on the same indicators; according to the findings of technical inspection, 400 stations need to be closed down immediately.

As a mass inspection carried out by the AUCCTU in May through July of this year has shown, many industrial enterprises of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], Ukraine, Belorussia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenia, and Kirghizia are in a neglected or even dilapidated condition which threatens not only the health but also the life of people.

The workers justifiably believe that there would not be such a slighting attitude toward the conditions of labor and occupational safety on the part of economic managers, ministries, and departments if the trade union committees, the technical inspection, the central committees and councils of trade unions, the AUCCTU displayed due stringency and exactingness in this matter with regard to them.

Members of the trade unions are also not satisfied with the position and role of many trade union committees on the issues of employment, price setting, and social and legal security of the employee and his family—that is, the availability of housing, medical, and communal services—as well as on the issues of ecological safety and ensuring an opportunity for every employee to pursue his cultural interests and physical and spiritual development. The care of low-income families by trade unions requires resolute reinforcement. Despite this issue already being resolved, as you know, including on our initiative and with the use of trade union funds, the problem continues to be most acute and calls for further large funds and efforts of the entire society, every labor collective, and persistent attention on the part of trade unions.

Collective contracts, and in lease collectives and cooperatives—agreements and social contracts—in their capacity of demands on the management, local and industry organs submitted by the trade unions on behalf of the employees should become the most important tool, a mechanism for accomplishing their protective function by local trade union organizations and all their tasks which have already been mentioned.

We must admit honestly that recently all trade union organs, beginning with the trade union committee and through the AUCCTU, have let go of this most efficient device for the protection of employees, this weapon in the struggle for economic interests and social rights tested by the working class of the entire world.

Recent events have shown that many justified grievances of miners and employees of other industries could have been redressed in a timely manner on the basis of collective contracts. However, these demands were not in the collective contract. The management of the enterprise and the superior organs of management were, therefore, free not to comply with them. This is one more lesson for all trade union committees, for all of us. In their work with collective contracts, trade unions should make better use of the new opportunities and the economic independence of enterprises. It is exactly on the initiative of trade union committees that demands for improving the conditions and remuneration for labor, for solving the urgent social problems of the collective should be made in the course of signing collective contracts. It is exactly on the initiative of trade union committees that measures aiding low-income families and those with many children, specific suggestions for giving extra leave with pay, reductions in the length of work time for individual employees taking special conditions of their work into account, establishment of bonus payments added to retirement benefits, and other work-related and social and service preferences for employees paid for by the funds generated by labor collectives should be proposed.

In all of this, comrades, we should not forget that the collective contract is a bilateral obligation of the management and the labor collective, including their mutual obligations in strengthening the production and labor discipline, order and organization, stepping up the struggle against mismanagement, enhancing responsibility for the results of one's labor.

Complete compliance with collective contracts and agreements should serve as one of the reliable means to prevent labor conflicts.

On the Situation in the Consumer Market

Comrades! There is a need to determine more clearly our trade union position regarding certain social problems that have been greatly aggravated recently. In principle it has already been presented in the pre-election platform of the trade unions. But the circumstances which have changed since that time require more resolute and aggressive actions from us and more active participation in overcoming the social tension that has appeared in the society.

I am speaking primarily about the deteriorating situation in the consumer market. The growing shortage of many kinds of necessities and food products and the unrestrained growth of prices make the workers feel unconfident about the future and sometimes disturbed as well. An ever-larger number of cadre workers and specialists, under the pressure of the rising cost of living, are forced to resort to outside jobs or to change their occupations or work places. Production and labor discipline are declining. More and more skilled personnel are leaving the basic branches of the national economy.

Under these conditions, in our opinion, the measures taken by the government for improving the economy and financial circulation are not exhaustive or adequate to provide for maximum stabilization of the material position of the workers in a short period of time.

The AUCCTU Presidium considers it necessary to bring up for your consideration, in addition to the proposals that have already been made on behalf of the trade unions to the government and the USSR Supreme Soviet at the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies, a number of new demands which the AUCCTU and our people's deputies could submit at the regular session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and take to the USSR Council of Ministers.

The first demand is to halt the growth of prices. Taking into account the fact that the USSR Supreme Soviet has adopted the decree "On Taxation of the Wage Fund of State Enterprises (Associations)," which by 1991 will limit the growth of the monetary incomes of the workers, it is necessary on behalf of the trade unions to demand that during this same period the government also "freeze" the prices for the basic food and industrial goods which determine the subsistence minimum, the "consumer basket", and establish strict state control of these prices. If the prices increase anyway, the trade unions will obtain from the government the corresponding compensation for those segments of the population whose real incomes decrease because of inflation.

Second. At the March (1989) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, when developing its resolutions the AUCCTU expressed disagreement with the establishment of contractual prices jointly by the suppliers and the consumers for potatoes, fruits, and vegetables and products from processing them, including canned goods. But our position unfortunately was not taken into account. Putting the government decision concerning contractual prices into effect, including for the delivery of these products to the union and republic supplies, did not solve the problem of the shortage of potatoes and vegetables but caused additional dissatisfaction on the part of the workers, especially the low-income population.

Therefore we consider it necessary, on behalf of the AUCCTU, to appeal to the USSR Government, the councils of ministers of the union and autonomous republics, and the executive committees of the kray and oblast soviets of people's deputies to return to a consideration of this question and take advantage of their right to establish maximum retail prices for potatoes, vegetable products, and fruits, as has already been done, for example, in the Ukraine.

Third. Recently the AUCCTU has denied a number of requests from ministries, departments, and enterprises for price increases. Thus, for example, the USSR Ministry of Railways insisted on increasing fares for passenger travel on the railroad and the metro. The councils of ministers of certain republics suggested increasing the fares for travel on city buses and increasing the price of monthly passes. The USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet and the USSR Ministry of the River Fleet have asked that the prices be increased for tickets to travel on their ships. The State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports has suggested raising prices for spectator sports events, the USSR State Committee for Cinematography—for movie tickets, and so forth. The AUCCTU has managed to oppose such measures so far. But we consider it necessary for the state to take stricter measures to prevent price increases in this important sphere of social services for the workers. At the same time our republic, kray, and oblast trade union councils should take a more principled position in these issues, especially under the new conditions—with regional economic accountability. I know that we can obtain for them the right to "veto" the adoption of economically unsubstantiated prices for goods and services for the population. But even now, taking advantage of our position, the trade union councils must boycott any attempts to jack up prices.

And another of our demands. The Soviet people are becoming more and more irritated with the situation that has been created in providing goods and products that are in daily demand such as children's dairy products, soap, and other cleansers and hygienic items, medicines, school notebooks, and tooth paste.

We do not think that anything, including difficulties in the economy, can explain this situation. Even in the next few months the country's government can and should eliminate the problem with these goods and remove this social irritant from our lives.

At the same time we must not overlook many other cases in which food and necessities which are in short supply in our country are being shipped abroad, thus exacerbating the situation on the domestic market.

Thus, according to data of the State Customs Control under the USSR Council of Ministers:

During the second half of July and the first half of August of this year the Littorgodezhda Association exported 280 tons of unsalted butter;

The Druzhba commercial leasing firm exported about 12 tons of raisins;

The plant food trade administration of the city of Nikolayev—25 tons of vanilla halva;

The Rostovrybprom Association—1.5 tons soft caviar and 0.5 tons of beluga sides;

The Ussuriysk oil and fat combine—195 tons of household soap.

The Roskhoztorg Apraksin Dvor and Amurvodstroy are also exporting cleansers which are in short supply.

The oblast consumers' unions and department stores of the system of oblast and city trade administrations of Kaliningrad, Kaluga, Minsk, Brest, Mogilev, Novgorod, Bryansk, and a number of other oblasts are sending to the trade and cooperative associations and firms of their foreign partners hundreds of thousands of square meters of cotton, shirt, and lining fabrics, thousands of sets of bed linen, thousands of pairs of shoes, knitted items, and other products that are in short supply. All this, comrades, is in addition to state plans for economic cooperation with foreign countries.

On behalf of the workers we must demand of the councils of ministers of the union republics that they bring order into this business and in the current situation eliminate the shipment out of the country of food and industrial goods that are in short supply.

Perhaps the AUCCTU Plenum should issue a special statement regarding all the issues mentioned above?

Trade Unions and the Cooperative Movement

Comrades! Another problem requires the most serious and immediate discussion at the plenum. We must express and in general develop the trade union position with respect to the cooperative movement.

Allow me to say the following on instructions from the AUCCTU Presidium and a way of posing the question.

Yes, the cooperative movement, organized on socialist principles, as a system which unites civilized cooperators, can even in the near future become an important sector of our economy and exert a positive influence on the saturation of the country's market with goods and services.

The trade unions should give all possible support to production cooperatives in agricultural and in industrial production, construction, the construction materials industry, the sphere of services, and certain other areas where, through the efforts of enterprising and capable cooperators with the help of more effective methods of labor organization and technology and increased personal interest on the part of the workers, additional reserves of food and commodities are created and new kinds of services are offered to the population at state prices and with discounts.

At the same time we must not fail to see the serious distortions in the cooperative movement and the growth of speculative tendencies in the activity of many cooperatives, which is causing the Soviet people to be deeply disturbed.

All kinds of trade-procurement and brokerage cooperatives and public catering cooperatives, entering into transactions with state enterprises, empty the retail trade network without making any essential changes in the consumer qualities of the goods and resell them at fantastic prices and make the existing deficit even worse.

According to data of the MGSPS [Moscow City Trade Union Council], during 7 months of this year alone the cooperatives withdrew 1.602 billion rubles from their accounts in banks of the city and returned only 38.5 million. During July of this year alone they withdrew 384 million rubles from Moscow banks, which is equal to one-third of the wage fund of all workers in Moscow. And a considerable share of this money goes for personal incomes and not for strengthening the production base of the cooperatives or expanding the sphere of their services. The volume of cooperative services for Moscow residents (both for producing consumer goods and for rendering consumer services) had decreased by more than half this year.

Comrade Z.Ya. Rayburtsev from Kuybyshev writes that "there is an every greater shortage in the stores, there are no attractive inexpensive fabrics, there are no regular buttons, there are no locks, and T-shirts and knitwear in general are completely lacking. The cooperators buy everything up and sell it all at such incredible prices that with our wages—I make about 130 rubles—we simply have to resort to stealing. There is no soap in the city, and the cooperators sell a small piece of it for 1 ruble. It is hard for an honest man to live, it has become even harder..."

The practice of leasing individual shops, sections, and productions of state enterprises, cafes, dining rooms, and stores to cooperators with considerably more advantageous conditions for their operation, which is quite a bad idea in our opinion, has become widespread. As a result, many skilled workers and specialists leave basic production for such cooperatives, the interests of the workers working at the same enterprise conflict in a rather artificial way, and before their eyes there is a stratification of people according to their property.

And how does one measure this corrupting influence on youth and on the spheres it penetrates? This is ripe environment for graft, bribery, and racketeering, against which it is becoming increasingly difficult to fight.

One must say frankly that state, party, and law enforcement agencies are still not implementing a well-thought-out policy with respect to cooperatives. And the people's disturbance regarding this has reached a point where one can actually see the possibility of large social outbursts.

The trade unions, protecting the interests of the workers, should speak our firmly regarding all pseudo-cooperatives. The AUCCTU Presidium proposes, taking into account the discussion of this problem at the plenum, making a special declaration demanding that central and local state organs take immediate measures to bring order into the cooperative movement and halt the activity of trade-procurement, trade-brokerage, and other cooperatives, getting rid of income from speculation and other unearned income. We must draw a clear line of demarcation between civilized cooperatives and unabashed speculation and and shameless pressure. We are also counting on having the republic, kray, and oblast trade union councils and trade union organizations step up worker supervision of the activity of cooperatives, and in the forthcoming election campaigns for the supreme soviets of the union republics and local soviets they will define their positions with respect to the candidates for people's deputies and workers of executive committees of local soviets, including with respect to how they intend to eliminate distortions in the cooperative movement, which are bothering all working people, and how they will solve problems of saturating the market with goods.

Not Allowing Unemployment

The trade unions are also called upon to raise in a fundamental and broad way questions of providing for full employment of the able-bodied population in each republic, kray, and oblast.

The so-called "hidden" unemployment, which is estimated in certain regions of the country at hundreds of thousands of people, deserves attention as a crucial problem which requires immediate consideration. We exchanged opinions on this issue in the presidium, with a number of AUCCTU members, and with comrades in the local areas, and we think that it is the trade unions who should raise this question for all to hear and call things by their real names. For our part we are forced to resolute actions not only by today's statistics but also by the immediate prospects of growth of the labor market under the conditions of universal economic accountability, the accelerating process of release of working hands in the production sphere and industrial construction, and because of the reduction of capital investments, and also the ever-growing tendency for work force to move into the sphere of services.

For during the past 2 years of the economic reform alone more than 2 million people have been released and placed in new jobs. And in the future we expect that no less than 1 million workers will be released annually. Enterprises that operate at a loss have halted their activity. In this situation the councils and committees of the trade unions must especially monitor work for releasing workers, establish close ties with work placement agencies, and find a job for each person.

One must say that the system that is currently in effect for labor placement and retraining of personnel by organs of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems does not correspond to the scale and complexity of the problems that are arising.

This is shown particularly by the events in Kokanda, Fergana, Novyy Uzen, and other places where, as was explained to us, there are many who are actually unemployed among the young people who are behaving like hooligans.

We strive to keep ahead of the events and do everything we can to prevent the appearance of social conflicts on this soil.

One should recall the Soviet experience before 1930, study foreign practice which has developed of the decades of struggle of the working class, and create in our country our own model of accounting for and monitoring unemployment as well as a system that guarantees material support and realization of the right to work of each Soviet person.

It seems to us that the trade unions of certain republics, especially Central Asian ones, should, in conjunction with the councils of ministers of the republics and the local soviets of people's deputies, be concerned to make sure that the regional programs that have been developed for providing for full employment of all the able-bodied population are actually implemented. In the final analysis there is a need to develop a program and measures for fighting unemployment on the scale of the entire country.

In their pre-election platform the Soviet trade unions announced that they see the main goal of their efforts as providing each person with the opportunity to work honestly and conscientiously, to live better, and to bring happiness to his family and children. We must constantly remember this duty of ours.

The aforementioned problems are far from an exhaustive list of the urgent tasks facing trade unions today.

The solution to the housing problem which is most critical, radical improvement of medical service and the living conditions for working youth and women, a rise in the cultural and moral level of the workers, strengthening of discipline and law and order—all this should become to a significantly greater degree a subject of concern not only for the state but also for our trade unions and all trade union organizations.

Trade unions cannot be side observers in the face of the growing social tension among students either. The acute reaction of students studying in tekhnikums and vocational and technical schools to the slow restructuring of the educational complex and their dissatisfaction with their standard of living and the conditions for their study and life in a number of places have already led to such extreme forms of protest as organized boycotting of classes. Students are frequently among the organizers of illegal actions and come under the influence of nationalistically inclined extremist groups.

The situation that has developed today in the detachment of 10 million young trade union members requires the most constant attention and adequate actions on the part of trade union organs at all levels.

We wish to inform you that for our part a week ago the AUCCTU appealed to the USSR Supreme Soviet asking that they review immediate issues that affect the long-range future pertaining to the vitally important social interests of the students and working youth.

In our view, attention should be given to the proposals of the trade union aktiv of the higher educational institutions and tekhnikums concerning the creation of a commission of the Presidium of the AUCCTU for student affairs.

Another subject of special concern and alarm of the workers is the aggravation of interethnic relations in a number of regions of our country.

Motivated by these feelings, from positions of profound internationalism which is inherent in our working class and Soviet trade unions, the AUCCTU Presidium has appealed to the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and the Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian SSR during a period of aggravation of interethnic relations in these republics and asked them to show restraint and political wisdom when solving problems affecting the interests of individual ethnic groups and nationalities who populate the republic, not to allow the workers to divide up according to the ethnic indicator, and to search persistently and patiently for a resolution to the conflicts that arise on this soil through strict observance of constitutional norms in the interests of all the population and all Soviet people. Supporting the CPSU platform, "The Party Ethnic Policy Under Modern Conditions" and its lofty goal of harmonizing interethnic relations on a new basis, the trade unions are taking a principled and internationalist position regarding these issues. We are in favor of equal labor, civil, and political rights and social protection of all Soviet citizens in all of our union and autonomous republics, regardless of nationality, place of residence, religious belief, or membership in political, social, or informal associations. We are in favor of the unity of our entire multinational family of our homeland. Today let this be our demand, the order from the AUCCTU Plenum to all trade union organizations, the order from the trade union to future people's deputies and all organs of Soviet authority.

Protecting Worker Interests Based on the Law

Comrades! At this plenum we shall have to consider the draft law "On the Rights of USSR Trade Unions."

We must consider this question as being inseparably connected to the sharp turn in all of our trade union activity toward strengthening their protective functions and further increasing their role in the society.

As you understand, the trade unions can represent the interests of the workers most successfully and protect them most reliably by relying on the law. The legal restrictions on the trade unions have no become a serious obstacle on the path to radical restructuring of all our work.

It is my deep conviction that all of this places the adoption of the law "On the Rights of the USSR Trade Union" on a par with other large problems that must be solved immediately during the course of the creation of a rule-of-law state.

The draft of this law, which was developed by the AUCCTU and published in the press, evoked a great deal of public interest. Millions of workers and employees, kolkhoz [collective farm] workers, students and trade union activists participated in the discussion of it. Trade union organs, the newspaper TRUD, and other publications received a total of 360,000 different proposals. It is typical that the majority of opinions coincided. The people agreed that there was a need to strengthen the protective aspect of trade union activity and release them from many duties which are not properly theirs.

Representatives of republic, kray, and oblast soviet, central trade union committees, and scholars participated in the discussion of the draft law. In the seven zones of the country there were meetings of AUCCTU leaders and workers with the trade union aktiv and lawyers regarding this issue. Central committees of trade unions of workers in rail transportation and transport construction, workers of the maritime and river fleets, the Estonian republic and Leningrad and Novosibirsk oblast trade union councils, certain middle level committees, and scientific institutions submitted alternative variants of the draft law to the AUCCTU.

The suggestions and remarks of the workers, the trade union aktiv, the trade union committees and councils, and scholars were the basis for the preparation of a new edition of the draft law which we have submitted for your consideration.

As you can see, this draft is radically different from the variant that was published.

Since the corresponding document was distributed to you in good time and you are therefore familiar with it, allow me to comment only on a couple of the most fundamental points of the draft law.

For the first time these issues include:

—the determination of the main criteria for the standard of living of the population, the establishment of a subsistence minimum, and social normatives for providing the population with housing, hospitals, and so forth;

—price setting, participation in the development of the basic directions for improving retail prices for goods and services, and many other things.

In addition to this the draft envisions a realistic mechanism for exercising this authority, which previously simply did not exist.

This includes, first of all, the right to "veto," that is, the right of the trade unions to halt the execution of management decisions of state, economic, and cooperative organs if they violate the authority of the trade unions and labor collectives or the labor, housing, or other social rights of the workers. Unfortunately, quite a few decisions like this are made.

An important and principally new area of the legal protection practice of the trade unions is to be open negotiations with state and economic management organs and the administration, and worker rallies and demonstrations in support of their demands.

Life itself has presented us with the need to clearly determine the attitude of the trade unions toward strikes—an extreme form of expression of worker protest.

The draft law gives the trade union committee the right, on behalf of the labor collective, to declare a strike if all other measures for resolving a labor conflict have been exhausted.

It is intended to expand the rights of the trade unions:
—in the formation and activity of organs of state authority;
—in the protection of the right of citizens to work and the establishment of working conditions and pay;
—in solving the problem of housing and domestic services for workers;
—in exercising broader and stricter control over the observance of labor legislation.

Of exceptional importance is article 22 of the draft law, which determines the policy for resolving disagreements with organs of state, cooperative, and economic management and the administration when exercising trade union authority. The lack of such a policy has led to a situation where many previously proclaimed trade union rights have been declarative in nature and were not guaranteed by law.

I wish to especially emphasize that the draft law suggests significantly strengthening the social protection of elected trade union workers and the trade union aktiv. Herein lies the root of the problem of sharply increasing the legal protection activity of the trade unions. Each of you understands that regardless of how broad the rights of the trade union organ may be, our trade union workers and activists are the ones who will be realizing them. Therefore the draft law envisions a number of guarantees involving taking disciplinary actions against them, releasing them from work, and placing them in jobs upon expiration of their terms in trade union offices.

I should also report to you that certain suggestions concerning the draft law were not supported by the work group or the AUCCTU Presidium.

In particular, it was suggested that the prices for all goods and services for the population and normative acts concerning labor and wages be applied jointly by state and trade union organs. This would lead to a situation where the trade unions would be responsible for higher prices, mistakes in taxation of the population, and other negative phenomena in socioeconomic life caused by incorrect management decisions and would deprive us of the possibility of invalidating them. One must say that the previous practice of adopting decisions concerning social issues in conjunction with state organs, decisions which were not always popular and not always optimal, did not add to the authority or confidence in trade unions.

Another group of proposals amounted to describing in detail the rights of trade union organs and the interrelations among them at all levels.

We think that the basic authority of the trade unions is reflected in the draft. As concerns the peculiarities of the application of the law by trade unions of individual branches and regions and other trade union organs, we have the right to do this ourselves.

Proposals were made to delimit the competence of the trade union committee and the labor collective council. In our opinion this is not a subject for a law which regulates the rights of trade unions either.

Comrades! The AUCCTU Presidium hopes that the draft law on the rights of trade unions will be profoundly and thoroughly discussed at the present plenum. The USSR people's deputies on behalf of the trade unions should recommend actively defending it in the highest state organ of authority as early as the current autumn session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Such a law is needed. The trade unions need it and the workers of our country need it.

Questions of Further Development of Democracy Within the Trade Union

In the concluding section of the report the AUCCTU Presidium raises for your consideration a number of proposals related to further improvement of organizational work and norms for life within the trade union. They were preliminarily discussed at meetings with the trade union aktiv, leaders of trade union committees, central committees, and a number of trade union councils, trade union organizers, and also specialists of the AUCCTU work group created for this purpose.

As you know, in keeping with the decisions of the 18th Trade Union Congress and the 2d and 3d AUCCTU plenums, a number of concrete measures regarding this have been adopted. Many restrictions have been removed from the activity of the local trade union organizations. They have been granted greater freedom of action, including in the expenditure of trade union funds, and the cumbersome management pyramid that towers over them is being dismantled. All other trade union organs have been given greater independence in their work and the process of their formation and election of leaders of trade union organs has been democratized.

But the level of trade union organizational work still does not correspond to the tasks that are to be carried out in this stage of perestroyka.

And here again we must turn our attention to questions related to the work primarily of local trade union organizations.

Of course, a good deal depends on the fact that local organizations are still frequently headed by people who are not energetic enough and do not have enough authority among the workers. The recent strikes in the country's coal basins confirmed this convincingly. In many cases it is not the trade unions but other leaders who are entrusted to defend their demands.

Consequently, our immediate task is, during the course of the reports and elections that are taking place now in local organizations, to provide for an influx of fresh forces from among the workers and activists who have the greatest confidence and authority in the collectives. This is the more possible since we have solved the problem of increasing wages for trade union committee workers and retaining the amount of previous wages, if necessary, for workers who have been elected as trade union chairmen.

Members and candidate members of the AUCCTU, trade union central committees and councils, and committees of the middle level must help trade union organizations to hold elections of chairmen on an alternative basis and help form trade union committees taking into account the changing conditions, the new tasks of trade unions, and the strengthening of their protective functions.

If indeed we wish to resolutely improve all the organizational work of the trade unions to the level of these new tasks, this work must be conducted immediately and with a high level of responsibility.

And, of course, the higher trade union organs must refrain from rigid regulation of the activity of the local organizations and the adoption of arbitrary decisions regarding them.

The principle of democratic centralism should undoubtedly be in operation in the trade unions. But today the democratic side of it requires special development. It is important to trust and help the local units more, to support them in exercising their authority, and to protect them in the corresponding economic, state, and social organs.

It is important to develop interest and responsibility of the local organizations in the formation and activity of higher trade union organs. Apparently it would be correct to offer local organizations the opportunity to decide for themselves the kind of trade union organization they most need to have directly above them: rayon committee, city committee, oblast committee, council of trade union chairmen or some other social formation. Let the local levels decide this for themselves.

Support should be given to proposals for increasing the rights of branch councils of trade union chairmen to meet those at the level of the oblast trade union committees in their interrelations with economic organs and for increasing the role of the institution of responsible organizers of the trade union central committee and increasing their rights and authority.

It is expedient to support the proposal for each local organization (based on principles of democratic centralism in the organizational structure of the trade unions) and the trade union members themselves to independently solve problems of the structure of their local organizations and determine the policy for the formation of their electoral organs and how often trade union meetings and sessions of the trade union committee should be held.

One must also agree with the opinion of local organizations concerning granting them the right to make decisions concerning additional pay of up to 80 rubles or trade union and shop committee chairman who still maintain their primary jobs, regardless of whether they are workers or employees.

It is necessary to consult about this issue at the plenum. Recently the AUCCTU has been receiving many suggestions to the effect that, in addition to the existing practice of elections of trade unions envisioned by the trade union regulations, they should permit trade union organizations, at their request and as an experiment, to form their own higher organizations according to the principle of direct delegation, whereby, simultaneously with the election of deputies to the conference, the organization will elect its own representatives to the corresponding trade union organ within a certain quota.

This principle will make it possible for the higher organ to more fully take into account and represent the interests of the organizations it joins together and to construct its work on the basis of their needs, and it will strengthen the direct and reverse ties since each organization will be able to give its representative the necessary instructions concerning concrete issues and demand that they be followed. Moreover, direct representation will increase the responsibility of the elected organs for the work entrusted to them. Each organization will be able to recall its representative at any time if he does not justify the confidence placed in him.

Certain categories of trade union members say that they do not like too broad a framework for the branch trade union, within which the interests if individual, even relatively large occupations are lost. After all, each occupational group has its own specific needs and must have special concern and support from its trade union.

This situation generates a desire on the party of workers to join together on the basis of the interests of specific occupational groups. A number of these associations have already been formed in the country, for example: pilots, airline dispatchers, ballet performers, masons, and workers in certain other occupations.

The central committees must not fail to pay attention to such initiatives and must proceed more boldly toward the formation within the framework of their trade unions occupational production sections and associations which would unite workers of specific occupations if they so desire. There should be no haste or rush work in this matter, but one must not be unjustifiably slow either. The only important thing here is to proceed from the interests of the trade union members themselves.

It is quite obvious that the power of the trade unions and their legal protection activity and effectiveness in the future as well will be determined by the activity and efficiency of the local organizations and their branch associations.

But at the same time, under the conditions of the changeover to republic and regional economic accountability and significant expansion of the rights of local authorities, including regarding the entire complex of issues related to the social infrastructure, it would be a mistake to diminish the role and significance of the territorial trade union council.

Especially now we give trade union councils back their initial meaning—to coordinate and unite the efforts of branch trade unions in solving interbranch problems, to render them assistance, and to guarantee the freedom and independence of the activity of trade union organizations on the territory.

Taking into account the growing protective role of branch trade unions, on the one hand, and also the new tasks of the trade union councils under the conditions of the economic independence of the union republics and regional economic accountability, on the other, it is necessary to think of new approaches to the formation of the trade union budget and the budget for state social security for the workers. We receive many proposals regarding this. Taking into account the complexity of this issue and the contradictory proposals, it seems expedient to instruct the AUCCTU Presidium in conjunction with the budget commission, with the participation of the trade union central committees and especially the local organizations, to revise the existing provisions so that the necessary decision can be made this year at the regular AUCCTU Plenum.

Finally, the question of the creation of the Russian republic trade union council. The suggestions regarding this with respect to the aforementioned considerations are not unfounded. One of the possible variants could be, for example, the formation of bureaus or secretariats of the AUCCTU for the RSFSR which could interact with the Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers of the RSFSR and coordinate the activity of the kray and oblast councils of Russian trade unions. Many central trade union committees could operate similarly, especially those that have republic branch administrative organs. There are also other suggestions. Thus there is a need in the near future to especially discuss this question with leaders of branch trade unions and also AUCCTU members and representatives of the trade union council who represent the Russian Federation.

On the whole, comrades, the matter is reaching a point where even now we must begin to prepare the new regulations of the USSR trade unions and extensively enlist both scholars and practical workers in trade union construction as well as our activists so that the matter can be extensively discussed at all of our levels, from trade union groups to the AUCCTU Plenum, before the 19th Trade Union Congress.

If you support this suggestion it might be possible even at this plenum to create a commission and instruct it to begin to develop a draft of the new regulations for Soviet trade unions.

Life today also demands that we formulate the trade union position regarding the forthcoming election campaigns for the supreme soviets of people's deputies of the union republics and the local soviets.

It is quite clear that this pre-election struggle will be even more lively than the last one. The results of the elections and the activity of the newly formed organs of popular authority will have the most important long-term consequences for the workers. Therefore the AUCCTU Presidium should develop on a broad basis a special pre-election program of action.

We must draw conclusions from the mistakes made during the period of elections of USSR people's deputies when the trade unions limited themselves to the formation of their own deputy corps made up of 100 people and practically avoided participation in the election campaign for the territorial okrugs.

Today in the working environment many critical remarks are being made in connection with the fact that the USSR Constitution and the law on elections of USSR people's deputies have no mechanism that guarantees the urban and rural working class a level of representation in the higher organs of state authority which would correspond to their position and role in our socialist society.

References to equal opportunity, say, for a nationally known writer and a rank-and-file worker to be elected as deputy from a territorial okrug are nothing more than wishful thinking. This has actually happened in past elections when the number of USSR people's deputies who were workers from territorial okrugs decreased sharply. Can we forget about Lenin's ideas about electoral problems? Here it is appropriate to recall, in particular, his idea that the primary electoral unit and the basic unit of state construction could be the economic, the production unit (plant, factory). It is this closer tie between the state apparatus and the masses of workers, this higher form of democratism, that provides the possibility of carrying out deep socialist transformations.

In the opinion of the Presidium of the AUCCTU, these principles are more applicable than ever before to the current moment of political reform, to the forthcoming elections of republic, kray, oblast, and local organs of state authority. It is proposed, if you support this idea, that you appeal to the supreme soviets of the union republics to envision in the laws on elections to republic and local soviets the possibility of holding elections not only for territorial but also for production okrugs, especially in large industrial centers. This approach is realistic and will actually make it possible for the labor collectives to defend their interests in the local organs of authority. This approach will help to create the necessary conditions for workers and peasants—the people who produce the product which supports the country—actually to participate in popular rule.

Electoral conflicts have touched upon representation of the working class in organs of authority. But the problem today is much broader. We are speaking about the position and role of workers in all spheres of the country's sociopolitical life.

Real representative participation of the working class and the rank-and-file peasantry in the organs of Soviet authority at all levels, in political leadership, is the most reliable guarantee of our country's successful progress along the path of socialist development, in the interests of millions of people. This is why the Soviet trade unions are being called to support in the most persistent way the advancement of workers who have authority, real working leaders, to organs of authority at all levels and to help them master political culture and the knowledge and skills necessary to manage the affairs of the state. Let us think about whether it might be a good idea in the system for increasing the qualifications of trade union cadre and in the higher trade union schools of culture and occupational advancement to open "worker faculties," unique worker universities for their promotion from the worker environment to trade-union, soviet, and economic work. This approach proved itself during the first years of Soviet power. Perhaps it would be worthwhile for us, the trade unions, to apply it now, on a qualitatively different level, of course.

This question has assumed exceptionally fundamental importance under the conditions of the changeover to a diversity of forms of property and the entry into the political arena of new social forces and movements as well as informal organizations.

In this regard we should like to give some advice about interrelations between trade unions and social movements and formations, which are increasingly in evidence in the arena of the political struggle. The range of these is extremely broad, and we are far from the idea of concocting at this time a formula for all cases in life. But one can say quite definitely that the trade unions are ready and will conduct a constructive dialogue with anyone who shows concern, not in words but in deeds, for the fundamental interests of the workers, peasants, intelligentsia, pensioners, disabled people, and youth—all social groups and segments of our people. And trade union organizations should not hesitate to react to new phenomena or allow the initiative to slip from their hands.

These, esteemed comrades, in the briefest possible form are the most important problems and the most immediate tasks of the current moment, on whose resolution the Soviet trade unions should be working with all possible persistence on behalf of the major goal—a better life for the working man.

Our society, our party, and all workers are interested in strong trade unions, and they are very interested in having the largest social organization in the country show independence and autonomy, adherence to principle, and creative initiative; actively support perestroyka and all transformations; and firmly and resolutely protect the rights and interests of the workers so that this party of the sociopolitical system will be strong and reliable.

It is our duty to justify these hopes in reality!

Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Session Moved To 22 Sep

LD1209133389 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] The date of the session of Lithuania's Supreme Soviet has been altered for the third time.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet has announced that the session is to be convened on 22 September instead of 20 September, agreed upon earlier.

This is because the Central Committee of the Soviet Union 's Communist Party is holding its plenum on issues of the nationalities policy on 20 September [as heard].

Lithuania's Astrauskas on 'Complicated' Situation

LD1209225889 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] At a press conference given yesterday in Vilnius, Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Vytautas Astrauskas described the current situation in Lithuania as complicated. But it should not be exaggerated: instead we should concentrate on resolving burning issues in order to improve people's well-being and to find points of contact with all progressive forces and ethnic minorities, said Vytautas Astrauskas. He called the proclamation of Salchininkai region a self-governing Polish national administrative district unconstitutional. The Lithuanian president was strongly critical of gambling on political slogans and actions that increased tensions and discredit Lithuania and its people. In a democratic and law-governed state to which we all aspire there should be no room for blackmail, pressure or claims to a monopoly of truth. Our major concern today, he said, is to enact new legislation. The Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted a long-range program on bills. Priority is given naturally to economic self-dependence; next to come are bills on youth, trade unions, environmental protection, culture, education.

Vilnius Party Official Says Situation 'Normal'

LD1209225189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Adolfas Paulus report from Vilnius, Lithuania; date not specified—from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Paulus] From confrontation to dialogue to consolidation. This is how one might describe the sociopolitical situation in Lithuania today. Several major steps have been taken in this direction. These are both the meeting of Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the republic's Communist Party, with a group of secretaries of grassroots party organizations from multinational collectives and the completion by sociologists of a study of interethnic relations in Vilnius. [video shows Paulus speaking in front of Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Building]

Vitautas Landsbergis and Kazimras Antanavicius, leaders of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring, Sajudis, both of them people's deputies, visited the radio measuring apparatus factory in Vilnius where the majority of the workers are not Lithuanians. The conversation was fairly pointed, impartial, but, you see, there is no better way to mutual understanding than telling one another the truth face to face. [video shows Sajudis leaders at factory]

[Begin recording] [A. I. Golozov, secretary of the factory party committee] I will tell you on my own behalf and will probably be so bold as to say on behalf of practically all the employees of our factory, that meetings like this are needed. Dialogue is necessary, because if we say at the present time—and this was said by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in his statement on television—that consolidation of all the forces is needed, then meetings like this help us to find those points of contact at which we can carry out this consolidation of forces.

[A. I. Myasenkov, traffic-controller] The situation is tense because people, many people, do not share each other's opinions and somehow they cannot have a tolerant attitude towards one another where there is such a difference of opinions. It seems to me one must precisely have a tolerant attitude in a situation where, as we are talking about a plurality of opinions, this plurality should be a real one. [end recording]

[Paulus] And here is a new important meeting—this time USSR people's deputies from the Lithuanian republic met with the group of secretaries from the multinational enterprise. An exchange of opinions took place on the political situation in Lithuania, the quest for mutually acceptable solutions regarding the draft law on citizenship, on elections. A number of other burning topics of the day were discussed. [Video shows Paulus in front of Lithuanian Supreme Soviet building, and the meeting of the deputies with the group of secretaries]

[Begin recording] [K. V. Zaletskas, first secretary of Vilnius city committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet] The secretaries of our republic's Central Committee are visiting the working collectives of our city. Very necessary and useful meetings also take place there. Meetings like that took place earlier as well. So in actual fact dialogue is going ahead. As you know, there have been calls for political strikes. Now, after these strikes, I believe that there are fewer and fewer collectives that contemplate that. And I, and there is no secret about it, receive quite a few phone calls from my colleagues in the country, asking: What's going on there in your republic; why are there such strained interethnic relations in your republic. But I would not say that the situation here is all that complicated at the present time. The situation is a normal one and I think it will get better as things progress. [end recording]

Sajudis Leader's Article in U.S. Paper Criticized

*PM1209164189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Sep 89 First Edition p 6*

[Georgiy Ovcharenko article: "Perestroyka and 'Sajudis': Commentary on Certain Revelations by the Leader of a Lithuanian Social Movement"]

[Text] Vitautas Landsbergis, professor at the conservatory, chairman of the Lithuanian social movement in defense of perestroyka—"Sajudis," and USSR people's deputy, is giving interviews to our foreign colleagues all over the place. Good luck to him, as the saying goes, that is the right of a people's deputy—to have someone to share his thoughts with. I only drew attention to it because on nearly every occasion V. Landsbergis rounds on the Soviet mass media. He particularly takes it out on the newspapers PRAVDA and KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, which, as the "Sajudis" chairman complained to a Voice of America correspondent, misrepresent events taking place in Lithuania.

The people's deputy stated that Moscow has launched a campaign against the peoples of the Baltic republics, aimed at inspiring fear, or perhaps preparing people for the suppression of national mvoements. In this campaign, V. Landsbergis asserts, every possible method is used, including the substitution of one concept for another, lies, and naive assertions about the injuries supposedly inflicted on Russian inhabitants of the Baltic republics. He also thinks that the people's fronts and the "Sajudis" movement are wrongly accused of "various so-called crimes or ideological sins."

In fact there is nothing of the kind, Landsbergis asserts. Furthermore "Sajudis" acts exclusively in the interests of perestroyka, seeks only true independence for the republic, and not the disintegration of the USSR, and cooperates with the Lithuanian Communist Party, which also seeks greater autonomy, and so the activity of "Sajudis" is in no way aimed at infringing the rights and interests of the republic's nonindigenous population. This movement has no separatist aspirations and no desire to seize power.

Much could be said about the "Sajudis" leader's political platform and the true purposes which he, a USSR people's deputy, pursues. But perhaps the best thing is to let Landsbergis speak for himself. Take, for instance, THE WASHINGTON POST on 20 August 1989. It publishes an article by V. Landsbergis, "Manifesto of Lithuanian Freedom." We quote it with small, insignificant abbreviations.

"We regard the Soviet military presence in Lithuania as the presence of an army of occupation. We therefore call for the withdrawal of the Soviet Army from the Baltic states and the creation of national military units on our territory.

"We maintain that the roots of Lithuania's annexation by the Soviet Union in 1940 go back to the Stalin-Hitler pact of 23 August 1939 and the associated protocols. This led to the deployment of Soviet Army units in Lithuania in 1939 and additional forces in 1940.

"Therefore the political acts on the affiliation of Lithuania to the Soviet Union adopted in June and July 1940 were adopted in the presence of armed forces and in the conditions of Soviet NKVD [People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs] terror, and were not acts of self-determination. For this reason we consider that the affiliation of Lithuania to the Soviet Union was based on occupation and annexation and is consequently unlawful. That is why we regard the Soviet forces in Lithuania as an army of occupation, and demand their withdrawal....

"We hope that by November or December we will be able to hold elections to the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet.... The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet will undoubtedly adopt a decision to the effect that in the new Supreme Soviet there will be no seats 'reserved' for the Communist Party or individual social organizations.

"Since 'Sajudis' will thus be competing on equal terms with other parties and movements, we are confident that we will win a majority...

"I should explain that in our day the concept of the 'communist party' is a mythological entity. Within the disintegrating Lithuanian Communist Party there are several factions, several parties. 'Sajudis' wages a struggle against conservatives wherever they may be—in the ranks of the Communist Party or outside its ranks. Progressive Communists who seek democratic changes and independence for Lithuania participate in the activity of the 'Sajudis' movement.

"If elections are held this winter and 'Sajudis' wins a convincing majority of seats, we will act on the basis of our well-known positions with regard to the question of the presence of Soviet forces on the republic's territory, the question of confining the personnel of units deployed in Lithuania to units made up of Lithuanians, and the question of the refusal of Lithuanian draftees to serve in units outside Lithuanian territory. We cannot content ourselves with less....

"We do not consider binding the recent amendments to the Soviet Constitution restricting the right of Soviet Republics to secede. 'Sajudis' believes that Lithuania retains the right to secede, as was proclaimed in the Soviet Constitution prior to the incorporation of amendments to it. But we are not raising this question at the moment, just as we do not intend to justify our right to self-determination with historical or legal references to the Soviet Constitution.

"We met with President Mikhail Gorbachev and his aide Aleksandr Yakovlev. They occupied different positions on such questions as the right of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet to repeal Soviet laws and the legitimacy of the Soviet presence in Lithuania. But they did not cut short the conversation. Gorbachev let it be known that he is prepared to seek just solutions. He is an unprejudiced man who does not answer with the rejections we have come to expect from the Soviet system.

"An independent Lithuania will have to deal with non-Lithuanian sections of the population—Russians, specifically. The problems connected with this group of the population are partly to be explained by the fact that the majority of the Russians who have come to Lithuania in recent times are not part of the intelligentsia. In addition, the Russian people have for many decades, and even centuries, been inspired by ideas of Russia's messianic role. We will try to accurately formulate and pose to the Russians who live among us the question of their attitude to Lithuania. Do they consider themselves to be part of the country of their origin, or do they prefer to live in another country—Lithuania. This psycho-political process has only just begun, and it is a complex process. We are constantly meeting with Russians and we are encouraged by the fact that many Russians both in Russia and in Lithuania sympathize with our aims."

The article in THE WASHINGTON POST exposed the position and the objectives of the leader of "Sajudis." They greatly differ from those which the people's deputy is presenting to his compatriots.

Take for instance the public statements by V. Landsbergis to the effect that "Sajudis" has never in any way sought, nor will it ever seek, to encroach on the rights and interests of the non-Lithuanian population. However, judging by the article published in the U.S. newspaper, the same Russians will, if Lithuania becomes "independent," have to make a choice between regarding themselves as citizens of the USSR or "living in another country—Lithuania." The very formulation of the question presupposes that the non-Lithuanian population in the "new Lithuania" will be deprived of many legitimate civil rights. Is this perhaps why V. Landsbergis has never anywhere come out publicly against slogans on the lines of: "Occupation forces and migrants go home!"? However that may be, the chairman of "Sajudis" has never been heard or seen to denounce these overtly nationalist appeals.

And how is one now to assess the people's deputy's numerous former statements to the effect that "Sajudis" acts hand in hand with the Lithuanian Communist Party, that it is its assistant in perestroyka? After all, in the article the selfsame Landsbergis describes the Lithuanian Communist Party as having fallen apart and the concept "Communist Party" itself as a "mythological" term. All this is greatly reminiscent of the position of the so-called Lithuanian Freedom League, which rejects the existence of the CPSU altogether.

But to continue. Forgetting that "Sajudis" is registered as a social organization in defense of perestroyka, in THE WASHINGTON POST V. Landsbergis openly declares the organization to be a party which, developing the logic of the article, must strive for power and ultimately gain it. He permits himself right now to dictate, to all intents and purposes, to the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet how it should hold the upcoming elections to the republic Supreme Soviet and local soviets. How far removed these objectives are from the aims originally proclaimed by "Sajudis" leaders advocating the republic's social and economic rebirth! Today the music academy professor no longer mentions these tasks.

V. Landsbergis' revelations in THE WASHINGTON POST set one thinking. Incidentally, the people's deputy did not refrain from misrepresentation and distortion of the facts. He assures us that "many Russians both in Russia and in Latvia sympathize with our ("Sajudis"'—G. Ovcharenko) goals." According to Landsbergis, the Russians and, in particular, people of other nonindigenous nationalities are actually prepared to renounce their civil rights in the republic and be content with secondary roles. The facts indicate that the opposite is true. The "Yedinstvo" ["Unity"] international movement, which has united the non-Lithuanian population in its ranks, is coming out with powerful criticism of "Sajudis"' nationalist positions. Literally the other day an extraordinary session of the Shalchininskiy Rayon Soviet, protesting the infringement of the rights of concentrations of people of non-Lithuanian nationality, decided to proclaim the rayon a Polish national territorial formation with self-government within the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic.

One could cite other instances of the "Sajudis" leaders' dubious game. I doubt whether the Lithuanian people would approve of their links and their flirting with the leaders of reactionary emigres and Lithuanian nationalist organizations, along with which, as PRAVDA has reported, a "Sajudis" representative signed a declaration which essentially contains a demand for the republic's secession from the USSR.

Incidentally, one of the signatories of the declaration on Lithuanian sovereignty, namely, Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee department chief Yu. Paletskis, in a recent interview for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, accused PRAVDA of distorting the facts. He said that the words "in Soviet-occupied Lithuania" were not in the Lithuanian text of the declaration, which he had signed together with Landsbergis and others. But Yu. Paletskis kept quiet about the fact that he had signed the text of the declaration in English too, and the words were there (see the fascimile of the declaration). So who is deceiving whom? [The following facsimile, in English except where indicated, is reproduced beneath the Ovcharenko article: "The participants of the 36th European Lithuanian Conference in Katthamarsvik, Gotland, Sweden, July 31-August 6, 1989, deliberated the political, economic, ecological and social problems of present-day, **Soviet-occupied Lithuania**, such as culture, education, socialization, the role of religion in the national rebirth and the solutions to these problems. We conclude that the essential goal of all Lithuanians worldwide is the full reestablishment of the independent, sovereign Lithuanian state.

"The reestablishment of Lithuanian statehood is the most vital objective of Lithuanians all over the world. [preceding sentence is in Lithuanian]

"Katthamarsvik 1989 08 06

"(Signed) K. Bobelis, A Buracas, V. Landsbergis, I. Lukoseviciene, K. Motiske, C. Kudaba, A. Terleckas, and J.V. Paleckis."]

But let us return to people's deputy V. Landsbergis. In an interview for a VOA correspondent he accused KRASNAYA ZVEZDA of allegedly fueling discord between servicemen and the local populace. In this case the people's deputy is obviously trying to lay the blame on someone else. In fact it was not the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA journalists but Landsbergis himself who made the unequivocal and categorical statement: "Lithuania's joining the Soviet Union was based on seizure and annexation and is, consequently, illegal. For that reason we regard the Soviet forces in Lithuania as an occupying army and demand its withdrawal."

Is it not statements like these that stir into action those Lithuanian "patriots" who knocked off its pedestal in Kaunas a tank that had been set up in memory of the liberating soliders, who desecrate the graves of Soviet troops who gave their lives for the Lithuanian people's freedom and independence? Have V. Lansbergis or the other "Sajudis" leaders ever condemned such instances, even once? I do not know of any cases. Who, then, is supporting, if not kindling, interethnic strife? Who is hindering perestroyka by endeavoring not to unite people but to isolate them in ethnic apartments?

This is worth thinking about.

Lithuanian Deputies Endorse Commission Findings

PM1209160589 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 31 Aug 89 p 1

["Statement by USSR People's Deputies from the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic"]

[Text] After studying the findings of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet commission investigating the 1939 German-Soviet treaties and their consequences we state that we agree with the conclusions on the illegality of those treaties and their secret protocols and their influence on the subsequent forcible incorporation of the Republic of Lithuania within the USSR. Incontrovertible facts also confirm that the Declaration of the People's Sejm of 21 July, 1940, on Lithuania's accession to the USSR was adopted illegally on behalf of the Lithuanian people. We demand that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium publish forthwith the conclusions of the commission of USSR people's deputies investigating these treaties. They were ratified 1 month ago, and the delay in publishing them is increasing tension and indicates the tenacity of Stalinist policies.

USSR People's Deputies K. Antanavichyus, E. Bichkauskas, A. Burachas, Z. Vayshvila, B. Genzyalis, R. Gudaytis, Ya. Kanovich, S. Kashauskas, E. Klumbis, Yu. Kuplyauskene, A. Layus, Yu. Martsinkyavichyus, N. Medvedev, A. Mitskis, K. Moteka, Yu. Olekas, R. Ozolas, K. Prunskene, A. Smaylis, M. Stakvilyavichyus, V. Statulyavichyus, V. Tomkus, Z. Shlichite, V. Chapas, K. Uoka.

Status of Estonian Election Law Clarified

PM1209155989 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 23 Aug 89 p 1

[ETA report: "Once Again About the Election Law"]

[Text] Our republic's mass media are receiving questions concerning the publication and entry into force of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Law on Local Soviet Elections. An ESTONIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY [ETA] correspondent put the same question to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet adopted the Estonian SSR Law on Local Soviet Elections 8 August. The official text of the law was published in VESTNIK

VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA I PRAVITELSTVA ESTONSKOY SSR for 15 August. The law comes into force 10 days after publication—that is, 25 August 1989. Considering the great volume of the law's text, the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium deemed it expedient to publish it as a separate booklet, and not to publish it in the republic newspapers. The booklet with the text of the election law went on sale Monday, 21 August.

Both the aforesaid publications publish the text adopted by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet. As is known, on 16 August the Supreme Soviet Presidium recognized certain articles of the law as being at variance with the USSR Constitution and took into consideration the fact that the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium will before 1 October 1989 submit for examination by the republic Supreme Soviet the question of bringing them into line with the Fundamental Law and international legal norms. This question falls within the competence of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet alone and will be examined at the next scheduled Supreme Soviet session. The election law is now functioning in the version adopted by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Estonian Residency Law Opponents 'Will Not Stop'

18001587 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 2 Sep 89 p 1

[Article by V. Blinov, welding engineer, Dvigatel production association: "The Difficult Route Toward Compromises"]

[Text] We discussed the CPSU Central Committee statement on the situation in the Soviet Baltic republics at a meeting of the council of the labor collective. Our decision was unanimous: to approve, to adopt it as guidance for action.

Just a few days ago, I was a member of the factory strike staff. After the workers of our production association and other Tallinn enterprises called off the strike, the labor collective co-opted us, the "staffers," into the STK [Council of Labor Collectives] as a commission for the defense of social and political rights. New functions? Yes, and no.

The regular series of meetings of representatives of the republic council of strike committees with a special government commission formed in the Estonian SSR continues. Today, it is still early to evaluate the course of the negotiations, although I will not hide that the alarm, as before, will not leave us. We await the next session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet. We would like to believe that the deputies will heed the voice of the many tens of thousands of workers, the decision of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the voice of their own conscience, and finally, common sense. Of course, they must look over the law on elections to local soviets, adopted by the "Estonian-speaking majority" of republic parliamentarians. The residency requirement, which was introduced into the sociopolitical practice of a Soviet Socialist Republic for the first time, and which infringes upon the rights and human dignity of many "newcomer" citizens, should undoubtedly and unconditionally be changed.

I believe that if this does not happen, the working class will not stop halfway.

The "implementation" of the law on the state (Estonian) language, the law on republic citizenship in the works, and other local legislative acts is being forced. I think that no one would begin to dispute the lawfulness of such regional initiatives if this would all be done, as it is said, nicely, without gradually inflaming interethnic discord, without supercharging public tension and intolerance, without forcing labor collectives, together their party and trade union organizations, to resort to job actions and strikes. Could this be normal and logical, causing economic damage to the republic, our entire country, and our very selves, in the final analysis? I also think with alarm of morale damage which is being inflicted on a contingent of many thousands of working people, their children, their near and dear ones. Even families are being broken apart according to national characteristics.

The sources of this public discord were exhaustively disclosed in the CPSU Central Committee statement. Nationalistic passion controlled many in Estonia as well. This passion is what is dictating the inadequacy of the behavior of individual personalities and entire collectives, and generates the aspiration to wound, infringe, and offend the "migrants from the metropolis." It is simply amazing how some republic mass information media are raising a hullabaloo about the "image" of the so-called migrant, some sort of militant social aggressor. The pen cannot keep up with listing the words and condemnations which some people will let loose in daily usage. After all, the participants in this are usually associates of the humanities professions. There are "independent informals" and party members among them.

In his speech at the plenum of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee, our general director, V. Yarovoy, described with pain how other organs of the press, the local radio, and television "sculpted" the stereotypes of the leaders of the internationalist movement of workers and the associated council of labor collectives of the Estonian SSR. The former, they say, is a clique of extremists and Stalinists, and the latter is a small group of "directors of union monopolies" who ride around in black "Volgas" and do not want to lose their privileges. And in the elections to the All-Union parliament, almost every third voter in Tallinn cast his vote for candidates nominated by Intermovement and OSTK [United Council of Labor Collectives]. V. Yarovoy became a USSR people's deputy thanks to the support of the workers' rayons of the Estonian capital.

Four months have passed since that plenum, a period sufficient for the ideological aktiv of the republic's Communist Party to think seriously about getting their house in order. Alas, for the time being, no real motions are visible, even though certain hope is raised by the appeal of the CPE [Estonian Communist Party] Central Committee Bureau, which emphasizes that the demands for leaving the USSR are irresponsible and can only harm the interests of the Estonian people.

We eagerly await the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on international relations. The CPSU draft platform on this all-important issue here now at "Dvigatel" (and I know, at other Tallinn factories as well) has been studied through from top to bottom, as they say, both by communists and non-party members. But confirmation is only the half of it. It is much more complicated to restore Leninist principles, to make them part of life's norms.

It is well put in the CPSU draft platform: The fractionalization of the party by nationalities is principally unacceptable. And, for example, another thought is carried through in the "counter" project prepared by the ideological commission of the CPE Central Committee: Communists must strengthen the priorities of the indigenous nation. I do not think that such a proposal, on the de facto division of peoples living in union republics into first-class and others could pass at the CPSU Central Committee plenum, however such tendencies have their roots, and it would be naive to assume that they will disappear on their own. A Communist is first and foremost an internationalist—shouldn't this indisputable idea be accentuated more clearly in the general party platform under discussion? Otherwise, there simply is no room for you in the CPSU.

The "concern" for the priority of any nation, which is made such an issue in some places, it seems, is a loophole for those who in the Baltics are all the more frequently called by the borrowed word combination national-communist. Excuse me, but why bother with the word Communist at all here?!

The concern of the regional party organizations on the specific national interests (which is discussed in the CPSU draft platform) is, as I understand, varying anxiety for the fate of all the population's ethnic groups in the given territory without exception, a concern which is directly proportional to the problems existent among them, independent of whether we speak of the majority ethnic community or national minorities. I believe that this point of the draft needs serious clarification. After all, the known infringement of the "new arrivals'" civil rights which had been noted in Estonia and other Baltic Republics is also growing, one way or another, from the demagogically expounded concept of the private priorities of the national-careerists. But we must, we are obliged to fight for the comrades who have deviated or been lost. I sincerely believe that our common future belongs to the genuine friendship of peoples, to the international brotherhood of people, to class unity and general human solidarity.

Baltic 'Common Market' Envisioned for 1993

LD1209222289 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 9 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Good evening! Permit us to begin today's program with a telephone call to Lithuania. In Panevezys a discussion took place yesterday and today and results were reached which will be of interest to us all. So, over to Panevezys and Heiki Talvik on the telephone.

[Talvik] A conference organized by Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian people's movements and governments came to an end late in the evening. Its subject was the expansion of Baltic economic links. Of course, the Baltic common market will not begin to function by tomorrow; it is still early for that. The joint communique expresses the stance of the meeting: Beginning with next year, economic integration will have to be expanded in such a way that the Baltic common market will be achieved in 1993.

The prewar cooperation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania could indeed have been better, it was said, in the field of economy. Perhaps that was also one of the reasons why things with us went the way they did. Now another attempt is being made, and in a different way. Causes are rooted both in geographical politics as well as in our status within the Soviet Union. Conducting one's affairs on one's own, it will not be possible to attain self-management with finality or carry on living. This is the reason why the conference took place yesterday.

Representing the organizers was Kazimiera Prunskiene, deputy prime minister; the Latvian delegation was led by (Andris Gutmanis), first deputy chairman of the Planning Committee; and pushing forward our stances were Edgar Savisaar, chairman of the Planning Committee, and his deputy, Erik Terk. In actual fact, no particular push was needed. Everybody whose aim is to improve the standard of living of the peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania was ready for cooperation. Directions for this cooperation are numerous in the communique and its addenda. It would be impossible to count them all: this is why a few are listed here.

It is desired to develop jointly the following: production of agricultural machinery, implementation of energy-saving technologies, fishing, foreign economic links, renewal of science and technology, and many others. The conclusion was reached that it will be easier to arrange jointly that the railways, aviation, and shipping are transferred from all-union control into the hands of the republics. The communique also contains in writing the thought that should extraordinary circumstances arise, mutual assistance must be envisaged. [passage omitted]

In order to prepare for the creation of the Baltic market it is designed to set up an inter-governmental commission. It will be assisted by several cooperation groups. Those will be set up by 1 October. The whole of the preparatory work is designed to be completed by

November. Signing of the agreement should take place then, already at the level of the council of ministers of the three republics.

Finally, also the Sajudis [Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring], Tautas Fronte, and Rahvarinne [Estonian People's Front], met here today in Panevezys. The political situation in our republics was discussed. The joint document will be published in the press.

Ingush People's Congress Views Ethnic Issues

PM1209135389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Sep 89 Second Edition p 2

[Own correspondent M. Mikhalkov report: "In Accordance With the Law Alone"]

[Text] Nalchik—The Second Ingush People's Congress—as it was officially described—was held in Groznyy 9-19 September. It was organized by the Ingush People's Front.

It discussed a report based on the CPSU draft platform on the nationalities question. The central topic of the 2-day debate was the proposal to create the Ingush autonomous republic which existed prior to 1934 within the framework of the territory.

The congress adopted a resolution approving the draft party platform on nationalities policy, the congress delegates' appeal to the participants in the upcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum which will discuss national relations, and an Appeal to Working People and All the Peoples of the Caucasus in which the congress delegates called for all contentious issues and problems of interethnic relations to be resolved by parliamentary means alone and for any violent actions and ill-considered appeals inciting people to the path of interethnic dissension to be ruled out.

Ingush 'Tragedy' Cited

PM1209135189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Sep 89 Second Edition p 2

[Own correspondent A. Grachev report: "Congress of Ingush People"]

[Text] Groznyy, 10 Sep—The Second Ingush People's Congress has been held here over the past 2 days. The Ingush are one of the peoples who went through a tragedy when they got on the wrong side of Stalin, Beria, and their entourages. The entire nation was put on freight trains, deported from its native lands, and dumped in the cold Kazakh steppe without food or accommodation.

This long and continuing pain and the current sociopolitical position of the Ingush people were discussed in the report and speeches.

Resolutions were adopted along with appeals from the Second Ingush People's Congress to the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum on the nationalities question, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the peoples of the Caucasus.

Kuzbass Workers Committees Exercising Authority

PM0109140789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 29 Aug 89 Second Edition p 2

[Own correspondent V. Kostyukovskiy report: "Authority of Workers Committees. Following the Strike in Kemerovo Oblast a Special Situation Has Been Created Which Is Frequently Called 'Dyarchy'"]

[Excerpts] Kemerovo Oblast—The country's present political life is rich in uncommon situations. Let us view the situation which has taken shape in the Kuzbass in the wake of the well-known events and is called by some a "dyarchy": Former strike—and now **workers**—committees retain major powers. Are the official authorities taking these powers into consideration. Is this a "dyarchy"? Maybe a new form of power strengthened by the will and participation of the masses is emerging? Like, for example, the present **workers control** which has come to replace its artificial and rather excessively bureaucratic form?

If the activities of the workers committees operating at many Kuzbass enterprises today are examined carefully and interpreted, the main thrust of their work will become clear: effective monitoring. And actively encroaching upon the management sphere as well—for at the committees' requests some enterprises, trade union committees, and soviet executive committees have carried out a major revision of cadres. So, a new force is coming onto the scene which is quite capable of strengthening and regulating power locally. [passage omitted]

...Some of my colleagues who have recently come to the Kuzbass for a short time have said disappointedly: "These committees are sharing out the available products and goods as if social justice means giving everyone an equal share." Yes, they also do this (not sharing, but monitoring of distribution), but the committees' work is by no means exhausted by such functions. Without assuming official powers, they are nonetheless exerting their influence on life's course, shaping public opinion on the most important problems fundamental to life today. So, for example, appealing to city dwellers through the local newspaper, the Mezhdurechensk committee states that the city soviet's extraordinary session was, in its opinion, unconstructive. It also spoke out on the city party committee's extraordinary plenum: "A fairly full picture of the strike's development has been shown, but the reasons, in our view, have not been analyzed sufficiently objectively... During the plenum the proposal to hold an early city report-and-election party conference was expressed—but, unfortunately, not adopted."

So, the workers committees not only monitor progress in fulfilling the joint decisions on the Kuzbass adopted during the strike, but also have their own opinion on sessions and plenums, even on oblast scale. In their actions and statements they express themselves with maximum directness and frankness, which is winning them increasing authority. [passage omitted]

The oblast party committee plenum, as we have already written, rejected the proposal put forward by First Secretary A. Melnikov for early elections to rayon, city, and oblast committees. Wherever I have been recently I have heard Communists' dissatisfaction with this situation. It should be recalled that the CPSU Statutes reserve the right to convene extraordinary conferences not only for the committee but also for party members themselves: All it needs is for one-third of the total number of members of organizations making up the city or oblast organization to demand it. But do we remember instances when Communists took advantage of this right? The fact is, surely, that specific organizational work is needed for this, but who will do this? The apparatus—hardly, for the committee adopted a different decision....

So a force has emerged which is capable of doing this work. Speaking a few days ago on oblast radio, USSR People's Deputy T. Avaliani, chairman of the Council of Kuzbass Workers Committees, said that in the prevailing conditions the council advocates early elections and reserves for itself organizational work which does not go beyond its powers—through city and enterprise committees. I know that many people were also disturbed by this: "What, the workers committees will agitate for reelections in party organizations?!" But who is going to take away this right from Communists in these committees? Especially as they intend to act precisely in the spirit of the CPSU Central Committee resolution on holding reports and elections.

"I do not agree with the term 'dyarchy,'" one of the participants imparted to me during a recess in the oblast party committee plenum. "And I do not recognize any such 'power' for the committees. Although I agree that their authority is indeed great."

But the fact is that the word **"authority"** when translated from Latin means precisely **influence, power**. They are using their influence primarily to accelerate the pace of perestroyka, and are vigilantly keeping an eye on attempts to reduce the projected radical changes to measures of a cosmetic nature. And they are being taken into account—they have to take them into account. As for power, the committee activists, discussing the draft Russian laws ardently and with great interest, are awaiting the elections to the local soviets. It can be seen from all this that many of them will become true people's deputies who are full of initiative and who work creatively.

Kirov Raykom Elects New First Secretary

NC0809100789 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0340 GMT 6 Sep 89

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The newspapers report that the Kirov Rayon party committee [raykom] held a plenum to examine organizational questions. The plenum relieved Movsesyan of his duties as first secretary of Kirov Raykom and member of the raykom bureau because of his appointment to another post.

Aliyev, formerly deputy minister of popular education in Azerbaijan, was elected Kirov Raykom first secretary and member of the raykom bureau.

Muslim Mamedov, first secretary of the Baku City Party Committee, addressed the plenum.

Arbatov Argues Perestroyka Needs Active Support

PM1309083689 London BBC Television Network in English 2130 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Interview with Georgiy Arbatov, director of USSR Academy of Sciences' United States of America and Canada Institute, in Moscow by news presenter Francine Stock in London 6 September; monitored in progress in the framework of BBC 2 "Newsnight" program following reports on ethnic unrest in the Soviet Union; live]

[Text] [Stock] Well, with me now is Dr Georgiy Arbatov, who is a people's deputy but also adviser to President Gorbachev. Dr Arbatov, is this not now a most dangerous time for President Gorbachev's reforms?

[Arbatov] I hope not in the sense that it is.... Well, we have a lot of problems—and who hasn't—especially in the period of drastic changes, and we are undergoing such changes, but I think if you heap everything so together as it was done just now, it looks really tragical. It scared myself... I got scared myself. But, you know, the real picture is a little bit different one. The national problems are very different in their character, they are not the same, and I think that most of the people understand that their hopes for national, more national self-reliance, better life, etcetera, are connected only with perestroyka.

[Stock] But do you not have a fundamental problem that if you give the individual nationalities the independence that they are asking for at present, you risk breaking up the Soviet Union?

[Arbatov] No, I disagree with it. I think actually we had under different circumstances serious national troubles—and you have somewhere, and somewhere others have—and we have to keep it in mind. If you keep it too tight, it can explode, and we have seen it more than once. So I think a reasonable policy in perestroyka and this more independence—when you give opportunity to really, to express their feelings to the people—is useful.

But of course you know what makes problems always is the extremists: In national problems they can be tremendously dangerous. But I hope that it will be solved, and I disagree completely that the support of Gorbachev is so limited. There are angers, there is dissatisfaction, as in each society but, you know, I'm absolutely sure that overwhelming majority of the people see no other alternative than to the perestroyka and the success of Gorbachev's policy.

[Stock] But is there not a danger that—as in the sixties with Khrushchev—that Gorbachev could in time be deposed?

[Arbatov] I don't see such danger. I think, you know, the much more democratic organization of society excludes such a conspiracy, the success of such a conspiracy. And anyway, you know, danger.... There is some danger. I think that the real danger if we don't have success, and we should have it in next year and a half to sure: not miracles—people are realistic enough not to expect miracles—but steady improvements and visible improvements [sentence as heard]. I think if we don't do it, it will not mean a coup d'etat, but what it will mean: It will mean cynicism among the people, and then perestroyka is dead, because without support—active support of people—you cannot do it.

[Stock] Dr Arbatov, thank you for joining us.

USSR Procurator's Office Investigated

LD1209195889

[Editorial Report] Moscow World Service in English at 0310 GMT on 12 September broadcasts an 11-minute report entitled: "Some Aspects of the Media Role in Perestroyka."

Aa announcer states that Gorbachev's TV address last Saturday described the complex situation in the country. Following a 1-minute recording of an extract from Gorbachev's speech, translated into English, the announcer continues, saying that the media have been largely instrumental in informing society, but not all had joined at once the movement for speedy political, economic, and social reforms in 1985. She notes that last Sunday's PRAVDA, analyzing the new face of Soviet TV, called for television contacts rather than television broadcasts. Vladislav Starkov, the editor in chief of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, was cited on the huge increase in circulation of that weekly—to 22 million copies and increasing, for in many cases it had been the first to introduce acute issues. The following recent example was cited:

"[First announcer] A reader asked the editors of the ARGUMENTS AND FACTS whether the rumor was true about which the public was concerned that in the USSR Procurator's Office officials hinder the work of a commission set up by the Congress of People's Deputies early in the summer? The commission of 16 people is checking the materials linked with the work of an investigation group of the USSR Procurator's Office, led by now a people's deputy Telman Gdlyan. His group had investigated corruption in Uzbekistan and Moscow, but it became known at the very first sitting of the Congress of People's Deputies that a criminal case had been started at the USSR Procurator's Office against Gdlyan's investigation group. The group was charged with violating rules of conducting investigations. The congress decided that the case should be examined by a group of deputies who would report the findings to the congress.

"The commission began working, but soon there appeared a rumor that the USSR Procurator's Office refused to grant the necessary materials to the commission. Answering the reader's question, the weekly ARGUMENTS AND FACTS carried a conversation between its reporter and the acting chairman of the Deputies' commission, Igor Sorokin. He said that the commission not only failed to receive the documents from the USSR Procurator's Office it had asked for, in fact it was pressured by the head of the investigation section, who began to impose on the commission its own views about the work of Gdlyan's group.

"The USSR Procurator's Office was told to stop its investigation of the case and pass all the related documents to the commission of deputies, on which sit eminent lawyers. The commission also proposed that an independent lawyer controlled by the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR should take over the investigation of the case ·bout the corruption in Moscow and Uzbekistan that the Gdlyan's group had dealt with. But this and other proposals of the commission were ignored by the USSR Procurator's Office.

"Three weeks passed and no decision was taken on the deputies commission's demands. In the meantime the investigation in the criminal case of Gdlyan's group at the USSR Procurator's Office goes on. Apparently the executives of this office still don't regard seriously the opinion of the commission and still fail to recognize the superior authority of the Congress of People's Deputies in this country, concludes his answer, People's Deputy Igor Sorokin in the weekly ARGUMENTS AND FACTS.

"[Second announcer] Two weeks have passed since this item appeared in the paper. What is the outcome of the case and is it really over in general? Our reporter talked to a member of parliament, Igor Sorokin, the acting chairman of the commission. The 29-year-old law enforcement officer from Kuybyshev on the Volga has described himself briefly: I am a detective and simultaneously I am a 3d year student at a police academy. Igor Sorokin has been acting as chairman during the parliamentary vacations instead of the official chairman Roy Medvedev, the historian and a member of parliament. The commission comprises 16 parliamentarians.

"The first question to Sorokin: Has the Procurator's Office of the USSR changed its attitude to the commission after a publication in the weekly ARGUMENTS AND FACTS?

"[Sorokin in Russian with superimposed English translation] Of course the situation has changed, but not to the extent of perfecting the commission's work; although materials have been made available to us they have (?of) special value for the study of the case. This is not what we had asked the Procurator's Office for. The materials are unnecessary for us. Secondly, the Office has become watchful towards the commission. It has been paying us more attention, has been quickly heeding some of our requests, but they still have been giving us virtually unsubstantive written or verbal answers. In fact the Procurator's Office has been evading answers and has been keeping silent.

[Second announcer] So what can this Parliamentary commission do in such a situation? There has been neither a regulation nor a procedure for such cases, since the Congress of People's Deputies itself was elected only last March. No doubt mechanisms for interaction between parliamentarians and government offices will be created and appropriate legislation will be enacted. But that's in the future. In the meantime the Parliamentary commission has tabled proposals to the standing parliament, the Supreme Soviet, whose autumn session opens later this month, as Igor Sorokin explained.

"[Third announcer] We propose that the parliament hear a report about the commission's work at its autumn session and get the procurator general Sukharev to explain why he failed to comply with the decision adopted by the Congress of People's Deputies to set up a commission to inquire into charges against a group of investigators led by MP Telman Gdlyan. And the third proposal to work out and endorse the commission's status at the parliament session.

"[Second announcer] And what is the attitude of other government bodies towards the commission?

"[Sorokin] All departments help us. We get such assistance from the Supreme Soviet Secretariat, keeping us going, from the Ministry of Interior, from the Supreme Court, and from news media. All but the Procurator's Office treat us with an open heart. Since the office is biased it is against the exposure of shortcomings in its work, despite the fact that it is the top body to monitor compliance with the law in the country and to fight against self will and arbitrary rule. It's responsible only to the Soviet parliament, but in fact it has been responsible only to the procurator general. This explains a situation which I am certain will be cleared up very soon.

"[Second announcer] At the same time Sorokin noted that the Procurator's Office has made available to the commission on an early notice on its own initiative all complaints against the group of investigators led by Telman Gdlyan. A paradox isn't it? If the Procurator's Office has been hiding its shortcomings away from the commission to save its face, why has it been going out of its way to supply the commission with materials exposing the shortcomings of Gdlyan and his group? After all, the group is part of the Procurator's Office, and if the commission finds that when the group investigated corruption in Uzbekistan and Moscow it breached the law, this will testify to shortcomings in the Procurator's Office activity, too. But so far the investigation conducted by the commision has been without result, so at this stage we can only guess what's the reason for the situation. The development of the situation has been in the news media focus, and we'll keep you up to date on what's going on, too."

Elections to Local Soviets Previewed

18001584 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 1 Sep 89 p 1

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Ye. Andryushchenko: "The Second Stage Is Ahead. Several Considerations on Future Electoral Laws of Republics"]

[Text] In essence the second stage of political reform has taken effect—the transformation of local organs of power which is to implement the principles of regional economic accountability, self-government, new mutual relations with the central organs, and so on. From the point of view of customary rules, it was unexpected that the elections which, according to the outline of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, were expected to be held in the spring when the terms of local soviets expire, are planned to be held in a number of places as early as this fall.

In terms of acuteness, elections to the local organs of power will undoubtedly exceed the heat of passions during the past election campaign of the USSR people's deputies. That the citizens and organizers of the elections have accumulated some experience of pre-election struggle is by far not the only reason. In many communities, the citizens have organized themselves not only in labor collectives, but also in their places of residence; they have created various social associations. Now a deputy is needed who will adopt laws here, locally, rather than in distant Moscow, who will become their advocate on a daily basis, the one who will translate the slogans of the 19th party conference and the congress of deputies into long-awaited deeds.

In turn, for the organizers of the election campaign, especially in places where perestroyka got stuck at the level of slogans and declarations, the issue will no longer be to advance the bosses or the candidacies "suggested" by them to the level of union representative organs of power. For the first time, dire necessity will force them to submit their own candidacies for an impartial evaluation by those whom they have most frequently been watching for many years only through the windows of their personal limousines rapidly driving by.

Let us recall that as a result of experimental elections in multicandidate okrugs in 162 regions of the country, the apparatus of the leading organs was given, figuratively speaking, a stern warning as early as 1987. Thus, more than 200 party functionaries found themselves among reserve deputies (including 30 party raykom [rayon committee] secretaries), 2,134 economic managers, 691 leading soviet functionaries, including 23 chairmen of the rayon executive committees, which accounts for 14.2 percent of the total number, 36 chairmen of the city executive committees—34.95 percent, 40 chairmen of settlement soviets—22.7 percent, and 282 chairmen of rural soviets—14.8 percent.

Past elections of USSR people's deputies also became a serious lesson for many leaders. However, apart from lower prestige, a failure in these elections made little impact on the service position of the nominees. Now this is not going to be the case in many instances.

The success of perestroyka in the field will depend directly on the awareness and social involvement, civic attitude, and organization, on one hand, and on the other, on the degree to which the citizens succeed in defending the democratic nature of the election process. For example, in the published drafts of election laws, the okrug pre-election meeting is not present as an undemocratic element in a number of cases. Research shows that in the past functionaries of the apparatus have most often been the proponents of this element because in the hands of unconscientious people the meeting provides an opportunity to regulate the selection of candidates from "on high" and to organize self-reproduction rather than elections to the organs of power, and places several officials in the position of givers of mandates and positions. A great share of deputies polled during the congress came out against this. Surveys taken by a number of independent research [as published] in many oblasts have shown a similar attitude on the part of the populace.

Obviously, this is not to say that we need to give up careful selection of candidates altogether. However, this task needs to be solved in a more democratic manner.

The election law should ensure equal and just representation for all social groups and citizens in the representative organ of power. Violations of representative character destroy the confidence in decisions made by the organ of power and extinguish the desire to carry out these decisions.

For this reason, it is no accident that the absence of the indication that electoral okrugs have to be at least approximately equal in terms of the number of citizens residing in their territory drew sharp criticism in the course of the discussion of the draft election law of the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. Sizable (at times several fold) inequalities of the electoral okrugs, of which a deputy from Latvia spoke with indignation at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and which ensure preferences for the rural population at the expense of the urban, largely Russian-speaking working class, would be also legalized in this manner in the new election law. The practice of the past election campaign showed that the "play" of the apparatus on the inequality of electoral okrugs was commonly used all over the country. Moreover, in a number of locations a new administrative-territorial division "taking into account historic traditions" or the expected law on local self-government is now being planned.

Can we fail to see that the election of, say, rayon executive committee chairman by a single okrug in the territory provides an opportunity for him to shower this okrug with gifts at the expense of others with a view to his future election? This is why the people justifiably demand that persons of this rank be elected in a more representative manner, by voters of the entire territory. As a survey of more than 4,000 persons in eight regions of the country by Professor V.S. Komarovskiy has shown, 76.1 percent of citizens demand direct elections of the chairmen of republic, kray, oblast, city, and rayon soviets (3.1 percent are against).

For many years, "the qualitative framework" of soviets staffed by complying with the respective percentage of men and women, young people and retirees, workers and peasants, and so on, was an obstacle to the free manifestation of the will of citizens, which is the next mandatory condition for, and at the same time the goal of, the election law. Quotas of this nature serve as an obstacle to nominating those who first of all deserve to be deputies by virtue of their business, human, and civic traits (rather than their sex, age, and so forth). One more circumstance, the mechanism of open voting, shackles the people at the time of nominating candidates in labor collectives. Besides, labor collectives, unlike public organizations (including "informal"), have a right to nominate their candidates only in the territory of their electoral okrug rather than anywhere. These and many other obstacles of this kind should not be present in the election law.

The striving to ensure the ostentatious representative character which interferes not only with the free manifestation of the will of citizens, but with sound solutions to problems is overcome with difficulty. This is why the desire to appoint, rather "for the sake of balance," a woman, a deputy of a nationality different from that of the chairman, a rural physician or a weaver instead of a specialist, rather than the one most competent, skillful, and capable of doing the most good, was felt during the confirmation of even the deputy chairmen of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

In the course of discussing the candidacies of chairmen and members of committees and commissions of the Supreme Soviet, a shortage of deputies with professional training for them was felt, despite the intellectual level of our representative organ increasing immeasurably. Ensuring the staffing of the soviet and its working organs with competent deputies should be the objective of the election law, of its every organizational form and norm. To this end, the duration of nominations of candidates envisaged by the election law should be considerably longer than 1 month, and their selection and competition should be a genuine marathon.

Every territory has its specific problems which form a certain hierarchy. Taking into account the need to solve them, representatives of social organizations in the clubs of voters should consider which specialists should be required in the representative organ of power exactly in the period which lies ahead. In some cases, this will be an ecology specialist, in others, an economist, and in yet others, a teacher, a talented educator of the young people, and, in some instances, an incorruptible lawyer-investigator, and so on.

At present, many functionaries of the apparatus of local organs come out in favor of persons either working or residing in the territory of the electoral okrug being able to be a deputy. They propose to omit from this norm the words "as a rule." Moreover, a residency requirement of many years is proposed. This is tied to the greater interest of the deputy in solving the problems of voters.

The resistance of the functionaries of the apparatus of local authorities to the "outsider" is most frequently associated with their being afraid of a deputy independent of them who is capable of washing "the dirty linens in public," or even washing them away together with the dirt, of spoiling the outward appearance of "well-being" of an oblast, a rayon, a city. I think there are cases when the citizens of a territory may invite and elect a specialist of such a caliber which is not represented among them in order to solve their problems. During his work in the soviet, he may seriously help the common cause.

Securing an agreement of citizens should become the fourth mandatory goal of the election law, a task which is solved by its every article and norm. For example, if in the course of the election campaign an okrug is divided on the basis of, say, the nationality of its candidates this will not bring about anything good. Ultimately, even the "victorious" majority stands to lose. Everyone wins if the voters give their votes to the candidate who offers the most sound program of his actions and points out ways to solve the problems the territory is facing. This demand should be included in the law. To date, candidates have scored points through ringing declarations and unfounded promises in many communities.

We should work on creating a society of agreement rather than conflict continuously and painstakingly, especially in the course of forming the organs of power. This is a guarantee of order and progress.

Report, Election Campaign Tasks Discussed

PM0809101389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 89 Second Edition p 1

["Party Life Department" article under the rubric "Topical Subject": "The Current Report and Election Campaign Should Be An Area of Special Attention"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Reports and Elections to Party Organizations in 1989" was published in the press a month ago. It clearly and precisely defined the goals and tasks of this important campaign. And, in particular, it stated that there was an urgent need for profound changes to the activities of the CPSU and its leading organs.

The first thing that needs to be done during the reports and elections is for all Communists to realize that the fate of perestroyka is in our own hands.

However, analysis of the report and election meetings that have started, shows that in many areas they are held in the old fashion—following the well-trodden line that has been covered for decades. And people do not even dream about moving away from that line. The same old self-justifying reports are heard, without even the slightest hint of work and the situation in the collective being analyzed. The standard-issue speakers with their prepacked criticism of associated plants and their smug approval of their own work. In fact this work boiled down to collecting membership dues and holding meetings with agendas repeated year in, year out. And it is typical that in certain areas Communists are even less active at meetings than they were last year.

The reasons for this atmosphere at report and election meetings should be sought in party committees' organizational work. In places where reports and elections have not been allowed to drift, where help is provided in preparing for and holding meetings, and where party organizations are set tasks in the proper fashion, Communists' activeness is high. Their frank and demanding discussions have a notable effect on educating party members. The opposite is true too. Thus, at a recent seminar conference at the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee it was noted that meetings in the republic have not yet become a laboratory for active creative thinking and are not setting the tone in renewing the forms and methods of party work. This is largely happening because certain party committee leaders still view the current reports and elections as something of little importance.

During the reports and elections we will have to analyze in detail the problems of socioeconomic development as regards the conditions of given collectives and regions. Certain people think that social problems can be further resolved by redistributing funds. Others are counting on improving their position through ultimatums. This is an illusion and a path that leads to deadlock. The state has no funds and reserves which it could use to meet every demand. The profound transformation of the national economy and its structures, and fundamental retooling will take time. We must not wait. There is one other thing—everyday work by Communists to improve labor productivity and economic efficiency.

The tasks of the current report and election campaign are largely determined by the restructuring of the political system in the country. Party committees will have to learn to implement political decisions through the soviets, operating not by diktat but by conviction and democratic agreement and through Communist deputies and people working in soviets' executive organs. Questions linked with the forthcoming elections of people's deputies to republic and local soviets should be comprehensively discussed. And the necessary lessons should be drawn from the last election campaign, which produced many instructive lessons.

But are not the problems of interethnic relations a burning subject for today's report and election campaign? The platform of the party's current nationalities policy, which will be submitted at the next Central Committee plenum, has been published in the press. The constructive nature of Communists' discussions and businesslike proposals will only improve the platform.

Changing conditions require a serious restructuring of party committees' ideological activity. Communists are obliged to be exceedingly attentive to public opinion and to constantly study and purposefully influence it. And, of course, to learn the art of conducting a dialogue with all social forces and informal associations. How long will party members avoid constant, real-life communication with people? The situation demands that all Communists boldly consult with the masses.

The reports and elections are designed to help change the entire makeup of intraparty relations and to affirm in each party organization an atmosphere of comradeship, free and creative exchanges of opinions, and the submission and discussion of any alternative proposals. Making proposals on possible changes to the CPSU Statutes and Program can now be said to be Communists' duty and obligation.

Primary party organizations are the foundation and center of all work. And we need to discuss how to change their inward-looking attitudes as quickly as possible and eradicate inertia. Only Communists themselves are capable of building their organization's life. We must completely rid primary organizations of petty regulations and tutelage.

Elective party organs and the apparatus will have to be assessed during the reports and elections, and wherever there is a need to implement urgent cadre changes we must be more bold in entrusting crucial areas to imaginative and talented people and involving in party work people who are politically mature, professionally competent, devoted to the cause of perestroyka, and capable of taking a social initiative and channeling it in a constructive direction. Multiple candidates, glasnost, and unconditional consideration for the opinions of Communists and nonparty people should become the rule at elections.

Kazakh Communist Party Holds 15th Plenum

Elects New Officials

LD1209173889 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] The 15th plenum of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee was held today. [passage indistinct] The plenum examined organizational matters. [passage indistinct] The plenum released Comrade Mendybayev from his duties as member of the Bureau and second secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee in connection whith his transfer to other work. The plenum released Comrade Davletova from her duties as member of the Bureau and secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee in connection with her transfer to other work. The plenum elected Comrade Anufriyev second secretary, and Comrade Asanbayev and [words indistinct] secretaries and members of the Bureau of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee. The plenum elected Comrade Karamanov member of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. [passage indistinct]

Discusses Draft on 'Self-Management'

LD1309055489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1706 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Alma-Ata, 12 Sep (TASS)—At a plenum of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, which was held here today, the draft concept of self-management and self-financing of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic was examined. Uzakbay Karamanov, chairman of the republican Council of Ministers, delivered a report on this issue.

The transition to new principles of territorial economic management envisages insuring and endorsing the sovereignty of the soviets as the main link of self-management, and creating conditions for the working out and conducting an independent socioeconomic policy. The draft is aimed principally at the implementation of the main thesis, "Strong republics—a strong center," the shaping of a progressive structure of social production, the deepening of the rational specialization of the republican economy and enhancing its role in the all-union distribution of labor. [passage omitted]

The plenum also examined the matter of the CPSU Central Committee statement on the situation in the Soviet Baltic republics and adopted an appropriate decision. In particular, it approved the evaluations and conclusions of the CPSU Central Committee set out in the statement, as well as in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech on Central Television. The need to defend insistently Soviet socialist federalism and to unite all healthy forces in society against separatism, extremism, manifestations of chauvinism and nationalism, and attempts to bring about a split in the fraternal family of the peoples of our country was stressed.

USSR Ministry Assumes Supply Task in NKAO

NC1309095589 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1600 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Henceforth the residents of Stepanakert will experience no shortages of consumer goods. This is the objective for which the workers in the Stepanakert trade sector have been striving in the present restive times.

However, it has been no easy task because the deterioration in the distribution of supplies to the population is directly connected with the increased tension associated with the problem of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and with the difficulties of obtaining supplies from the network controlled by the Azerbaijan Ministry of Trade . Therefore, the USSR Ministry of Trade has, at the request of the NKAO Special Administration Committee, made arrangements to organize the provision of basic consumer goods to the city through the networks and enterprises of Armenia, Georgia, and Stavropolskiy kray. Vladimir Sarkisyan, director of the Universal Trade Association in Stepanakert, told an ARMENPRES correspondent that his organization is now separate from Azerbaijan as far as the receipt of supplies is concerned.

It should be mentioned that the new suppliers are quite reliable [word indistinct]. Stepanakert is expecting poultry meat from Stavropolskiy kray and non-alcoholic drinks from Georgia. Armenia will provide the city residents with fish, sugar, cooking oil, preserves, pasteries, salt and other necessary goods. During the second quarter of the year our funds have increased by R 8 million; we are hopeful of the future as well. For example, in 1990 between R 55 and R 60 million worth of various goods will be supplied to the residents of the oblast's capital; this is substantially greater than in previous years. It should be pointed out that during this period the volume of retail trade will virtually double. It is also pleasant to note that henceforth we will be able, in accordance with the directive of the USSR Ministry of Trade, to participate in the inter-republic fairs for wholesale trade in consumer goods. In short, a great deal of work lies lies ahead and we are ready for it.

Enterprises Resume Operation

NC1309113489 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] The fears that the lawless and provocative behavior of irresponsible people could once more disrupt the working rhythm of Stepanakert residents have fortunately proven to be groundless. All enterprises, organizations, and establishments in the oblast's capital are now operating. The people are imbued with a sense of their great responsibility toward the fatherland and realize that the local strikes are only damaging the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and each Karabakh family's livelihood. Of course, it is difficult to restore full working rhythm after nearly 4 months of strikes. The effects of the psychological condition of the people and the persisting tension in the region are still being felt. Certain objective factors are also disrupting the work rhythm. These problems are being discussed daily at the party city committee.

During the latest meeting of the party city committee, progress in the construction of the Finnish-type houses for the refugees was discussed. [Word indistinct] they are few. Nearly 4,000 families who have taken refugee in the NKAO have applied for housing. Measures to better utilize local building materials to accelerate construction have been envisaged. However, these problems cannot be resolved until the blockade of the oblast is lifted. The people are thus expecting resolute steps from the NKAO Special Administration Committee and the commandant of the special district. The NKAO demands just treatment and law and order.

'Constructive Dialogue' Taking Place in Baku

LD1209201189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] A report from the Azerbaijani capital:

Less than 24 hours have passed since the strike ended in Baku, and the pace of life in the city has changed in the most definite way. There are again lots of people near the factory gates, public transport is working strictly to time-table and long distance trains, which were stuck in the sidings, have finally set off on their destinations.

The decision to temporarily suspend the strike until the extraordinary session of the Azerbaijani Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet which opens on 15 September was taken as a result of lengthy consultations between the republican leadership and the leaders of the Azerbaijani People's Front. As the local press writes, the session is due to examine questions connected with solving Azerbaijan's vital socioeconomic problems, and also the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Building work resumed after a week's absence on new production buildings at the Kirov machine-building works, one of Baku's largest enterprises. As a result of the strike, its work collective has suffered considerable losses—approximately R1 million. Making this up is no easy matter, so an operational headquarters has been set up at the works to make up the leeway, comprising representatives of the workers' collective council and the party committee and people's deputies.

At general meetings held in all workshops of the enterprise, ways out of the situation have been discussed. The constructive dialogue which has been struck up between the republican leadership and the Front gave hopes for a swift decision to the problem which has been causing us anxiety for 18 months now, said Gadzhiyev, a director of the works. People have grown tired of the tension connected with the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and that is why the whole of our multinational collective is prepared to work on their off days and even holidays, if only the so-called Karabakh problem can finally be solved on the basis of strengthening the sovereign rights of our republic then we can get down to solving other socioeconomic problems which have become acute here.

Armenia Appeals to USSR, Azeri Supreme Soviets

NC1309092589 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1600 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Appeal by Presidium of Armenian Supreme Soviet to Presidium of USSR Supreme Soviet and Presidium of Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet; date and place not specified—read by announcer]

[Text] The Presidium of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet hereby expresses its deep concern over the fact that Soviet Armenia and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] are facing a situation fraught with unforeseeable consequences. This is the result of the recent sharp exacerbation of the situation following the imposition of a blockade. The already complex economic situation brought about by the earthquake in the republic has deteriorated further. Supplies needed for the national economy, building materials, foodstuffs, and fuel transported by the Azerbaijani railways are not being received; consequently, the normal rhythm of the republic's economic activity is being disrupted. This has produced a justified protest and anger on the part of the people. The situation is even more tense in the NKAO, which is completely blockaded.

We are deeply concerned over the security situation of our compatriots living within Azerbaijani territory. The Presidium of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet appeals to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and to the Presidium of the Azerbaijani republic's Supreme Soviet and insists on urgent and resolute measures to safeguard the security of the Armenians in Azerbaijan. It also insists that the blockade of the railways and roads be lifted, thus enabling the normalization of the situation in the region.

NKAO Trade Union Council Makes Appeals

NC1209180789 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Stepanakert, 11 Sep (ARMENPRES)—The plenum of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] trade union council met and discussed the appeal of a group of council members.

The appeal specifies that All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions has not yet recognized that the 11 December 1988 decision of the oblast trade union council to break away from the jurisdiction of the Azerbaijani Council of Trade Unions expresses the will of the members of the oblast's trade unions.

During all this time, the trade union bodies of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic have been trying in every way possible to impede the normal functioning of the NKAO's trade union bodies. Numerous examples attest to this. These include procrastinating for several months about providing the means to pay and cover social security pensions and allowances, disregarding matters concerning issuing necessary certificates for hospices, postponing giving independence to the Stepanakert travel and excursion bureau, and so on. The trade union oblast committees have received virtually no concrete assistance from the republic for more than 1 and ½ years. What is more, the Azerbaijani trade union council has not built a single trade union project in the autonomous oblast during Soviet rule except Shushi.

The plenum pointed out that the proofs enumerated in the appeal correspond completely to the facts. Under present conditions the trade union council of Azerbaijan has lost the moral and political right to administer the NKAO trade unions.

The plenum decided to appeal to the Armenian Republican Council of Trade Unions to incorporate the NKAO trade unions in its trade union service and to appeal to the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions to examine and satisfy this petition.

Acceding to the wishes of the oblast committees of the trade unions, rayon political committees, grassroots, and trade union committees, the plenum of the oblast trade union council appealed to the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions not to conduct accounting and not to hold elections in the oblast trade union organizations and to extend the mandates of the existing trade union bodies until the regional situation is resolved.

The plenum endorsed a special petition addressed to the USSR Supreme Soviet, USSR Council of Ministers, and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions requesting the NKAO problem be solved more quickly.

The oblast trade union council also appealed to the NKAO Special Administration Committee and to the commandant of the special district and expressed the firm conviction that it is very necessary that Army units be present in the oblast to prevent possible interethnic clashes. Much importance has been given to the meetings of Army servicemen with work collectives; war, party, and labor veterans; and students.

Georgian Education Official Discusses Language

LD1209233189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Widescale preparations are underway in the republic to implement the state program for the Georgian language which has been confirmed by a decision of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Council of Ministers. Noting the great significance of this document, (Nelli Vladimirovna Gorganidze), Georgian deputy education minister, said:

[Begin (Gorganidze) recording] Restructuring in the political and social life of our country sets as one of its main goals the elaboration of a correct language policy. Everyone knows this well. The problem of national languages is primarily a humanist and moral problem. I would particularly like to stress this, because language is a very important property of nations. The common nature of language is the foundation of a nation's consolidation and the creation of a national culture.

The issues presented in the state program for the Georgian language will be examined as a single complex which provides for tasks which are both aimed at the long term and which are strategic, as well as local and current ones. Particular emphasis has been transferred to teaching the Georgian language in national schools. The first steps have already been taken in this direction. New Georgian language programs; which differ significantly from the programs now in effect, have been created and sent to schools. A number of changes have been made to study plans. In all types of national schools, study of the Georgian language has been introduced from the second class and the number of hours allocated to teaching the subject has increased: in Russian schools it has grown to 10 hours and in Armenian and Azerbaijani schools it has grown to 19 hours. To date, it has been 7 to 9 hours. In national schools, study of the Georgian language will be assisted by the fact that from the new school year it has been made a compulsory subject and its assessment is to be entered on the secondary education certificate. [end recording]

Crimean Party Chief Views Exiles' Return

PM1109111589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Sep 89 Second Edition p 3

[Interview with L. Grach, secretary of the Crimean CPSU Oblast Committee, by A. Grigoryev and L. Ryabchikov in Simferopol: "Bridges of Trust"; subtitled "Crimean Tatars' Problems Are Being Solved by the Joint Efforts of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and Uzbekistan"—date of interview not given; The 2 September edition of the paper carries on page 6 a "clarification" which says that the subtitle should read: "Crimean Tatars' Problems Are Being Solved by the Joint Efforts of the Ukraine and Uzbekistan"]

[Text] A working group from the Crimean party oblast committee [obkom] has returned from Uzbekistan, where a significant number of Crimean Tatars live. It was acquainted with the living conditions of representatives of the Tatar people, who were moved to the regions of Central Asia and Siberia in 1944 on the groundless accusation of aiding and abetting Hitler's occupying forces. At the request of the TASS correspondents L. Grach, secretary of the obkom, who heads the oblast commission on international education and raising the standards of interethnic contact, shared his impressions of the trip and his thoughts on ways to solve the Crimean Tatars' problems.

[Grach] As is known, in 1967 the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium restored the constitutional rights of the Crimean Tatars and around 10,000 of them returned from exile to the land of their ancestors. But then the migration process started to slow down. In 1987 a state commission was set up with the aim of sorting out the situation which had taken shape and to work out recommendations, and special organs dealing with questions of registration and finding employment for the Crimean Tatars were formed under our oblast executive committee [ispolkom]. Now more than 46,000 of them live in the Crimea. Many families come here, as a rule without any prior arrangements, and this naturally creates enormous difficulties. So it was decided to send a delegation to Uzbekistan to get a more detailed familiarization with the state of affairs. It also included representatives from among the Crimean Tatars.

The Crimean Tatars, it should be said, live quite well in Central Asia. Particularly in the rural areas. They are distinguished by great industriousness and discipline. Among the Crimean Tatars instances of crime, drunkenness, and drug addiction are rare. Their Uzbek comrades have frequently noted that good-neighborly relations have formed between the Crimean Tatars and the native population. There have been many mixed marriages. And this situation does not rule out the possibility that a certain section of the Crimean Tatar population could remain in Uzbekistan. The main point is that they need to be guaranteed the opportunity to live freely in the Crimea, and political rehabilitation. And they must decide themselves whether to return or not.

[Correspondents] Party and soviet organs continue to get requests from Crimean Tatars to revise the legislative acts relating to the abolition of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR].

[Grach] That question is within the competence of the USSR Supreme Soviet. I can say one thing: The attempts by some "action committee members" to whip up tension around it do not help the cause of strengthening peoples' friendship. It should be taken into account that now about 2.5 million people of the most diverse nationalities live in the Crimea, or twice as many as before the war.

For years an inaccurate stereotype of the Crimean Tatars took shape in the minds of the peninsula's population. In the last few years the bulk of Crimeans have moved away from this stereotype, as letters from the working people testify. They say that people have nothing against the Tatars who come there—they are against provocative behavior and categoric demands for immediate autonomy. Incidentally, spokesmen for the Tashkent and Samarkand groups of Crimean Tatars favor a gradual solution of this question, and they realize that a socioeconomic base needs to be prepared first.

[Correspondents] What has already been done in the Crimea in this direction?

[Grach] First and foremost, the first organized assembly of workers from among a number of Crimean Tatars who had lived in Uzbekistan was implemented. A new "Agrarnyy" State Farm [sovkhoz] headed by A.M. Tippa, a Crimean Tatar and deputy of the oblast soviet, was set up for them in the peninsula's steppe region.

There have been significant moves to satisfy their spiritual needs. More than 100 elective groups and 26 classes have been set up in the oblast schools to study the native language. Teachers for them are being trained at courses at the Institute for Teachers' Advancement. In three rayons the Crimean-Tatar language is being studied by the adult population in study circles at libraries. The weekly DOSTLUK (DRUZHBA), affiliated to the oblast newspaper KRYMSKAYA PRAVDA, is published in the language, and there are radio broadcasts. A national theater troupe is being organized in association with the Russian Academy Theater. There are around 20 national collectives involved in amateur artistic activities.

Uzbekistan is closely following the development of the cultural process in the Crimea. Progressive intellectuals from among the Crimean Tatars rightly believe that this is the way to promote the long-term interests of restructuring interethnic relations. Although, I must admit, there are people both here and there who interpret all our measures as a kind of sop with which the authorities are allegedly trying to put off the moment when they have to unravel the knot of contradictions.

Let us take, for example, the painful question of housing. All those who came to us today, with the exception of those who came in an organized group, are people who had the opportunity to sell their own home there and to get accommodation here on the money they had made. There are many such people among the Crimean Tatars. During a trip around Uzbekistan we quite frequently saw "House for Sale" signs in the streets. And what about representatives of the working class who live in the state sector? Besides housing, in the new place they want to get work in their field. The situation with the Crimean Tatar intelligentsia is even more complex. Among them there are party and soviet workers, and leaders of major scientific establishments, enterprises and even ministries. And, naturally, they cannot fail to be concerned about what place they will occupy in society when they return to the Crimea.

[Correspondents] It is a bad thing to rush such a delicate matter. All the same, what, in your view, are the quickest ways to get to the target?

[Grach] It is important to establish trust in working out the strategies and tactics of cooperation. Without "blank spots." We have set up our own editorial collegium which has already published its first issue of the collection "A Multinational Crimea." The preparation of the second issue, in which the issues will be bluntly stated, is being completed. We shall be talking about the thousands of Crimean Tatars who fought courageously in the joint ranks to defend the Soviet Motherland. But we shall also name specific criminals who cooperated with the German Fascist occupying forces, including Crimean Tatar nationalists. We shall identify their bloody crimes in order to fill in the gaps. Everyone needs this, because the broad masses have only a superficial knowledge about much of the past. And this needs to be discussed frankly.

Any program is doomed if it does not have material backup. For example, a few more Crimean-Tatar farms could have been set up in our Pervomayskiy Rayon. But help is needed. The rayon itself cannot bear this burden. This problem is quite severe on an oblast scale as well. Suffice it to say that we have over 150,000 families standing in line for better living conditions. So substantial subsidies are needed. The Commission on International Education and Raising the Standards of Interethnic Contact introduced a proposal for the obkom bureau to put the question about the allocation of these funds to the republic government. I do not think that Uzbekistan will take a back seat in this work.

Kryuchkov Discusses Reform, Oversight of KGB

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No 32, 8-14 Aug 89 pp 5-8

[Interview with Vladimir Kryuchkov, chairman of the KGB, the USSR Committee for State Security by Galina Sidorova]

[Text] It's the first time I am in this house, faced with greyish granite and marble, that stands on Dzerzhinsky street in the heart of Moscow. The entrance lobby, where two officers are on duty, is of an oppressive emptiness. The walls of the new KGB building—for that matter like those of the buildings of most other Soviet ministerial departments put up as the period of stagnation was about to end—seem to give off the cold of wasted money and estrangement from the little man.

So, what is taking place today within these walls?

I stepped into a spacious room, which as I learned, no newsman had ever entered before. It was unassumingly furnished in modern style with a desk in its depths from behind which a shortish silver-haired man rose up to welcome me. His genteel manners nevertheless concealed an inner strength. This was Vladimir Kryuchkov, whose appointment as chairman of the KGB the USSR Supreme Soviet had recently confirmed after a barrage of 96 questions and a vote with six nays and 26 abstentions.

NEW TIMES: Evidently my first question will be the 97th. We are trying to shake off painful problems, but more inevitably crop up. Is the KGB modifying its objectives and structural organization within the context of perestroika and Soviet society's democratization?

Vladimir Kryuchkov: If one were to mechanically transfer to the KGB everything done in Soviet society today, that would be nothing but a pro forma approach. The KGB is also undergoing renewal. Of late we have sought to reinterpret its place and role in the political system, in the socialist law-governed state. Our preeminent conclusion is that restructuring should involve the very gist of KGB activity, its forms, its methods, its personnel, its research sections and all the trends of field work in the centre and in the province.

Thus far we have been able to get Chekists to understand the need for change—no easy matter this as it implies modifying the methods, attitudes and know-how accumulated over the years. However, the staff is showing initiative and has unexpectedly introduced a plethora of constructive proposals.

Legality, truth and glasnost represent the basic trends of the KGB's restructuring. It is essential for society to know and understand what is being done. But that is where problems crop up. What can the KGB tell society? What can it not tell? After all, it has its own specific features, its undercover character. On the other hand, what Soviet citizens know about the KGB is not all they should know. The grievous pages of the past are revealed in rather great detail nowadays, but again not fully. Certain things are being done in that respect. We ourselves must experience the catharsis of truth, and so tell society for it to help us, trust us, and constructively affect KGB activity. It must necessarily control the KGB, yet support the KGB, as without that nothing can be done.

Certain structural changes have already been implemented. Thus we have abolished the so-called Fifth Directorate, which combated ideological sabotage. On the other hand, we are setting up a fundamentally new directorate to protect Constitutional rights. That speaks for itself, but there is more to it than that alone. Before anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda was seen as criminally indictable and was most broadly interpreted. That is not so today. Of course, it is different should someone urge the overthrow of the state and social system, or seek to forcibly change the existing order and act in contravention of the law and the Constitution. As far as the law goes, today expression of one's attitude to Soviet power, even of a most negative order, which implies generally the expression of one's convictions and beliefs is no longer persecuted.

KGB staff has yet to assimilate and employ methods that would fully integrate with renewal and democratization.

NEW TIMES: But taking our new problems and your new objectives?

Vladimir Kryuchkov: Perestroika is introducing much that is constructive and positive. But there are, of course, hurdles and drawbacks. Things crop up that cannot be tolerated from the angle of society's interests and the KGB simply cannot overlook them. Though we did have organized crime before, it was not so widespread and so intimately interconnected with the processes taking place in society as today. Organized crime has spread in breadth and in depth. Some Westerners assure us that this has a long way to go before we catch up with them. While that is true, if we do nothing to combat this malignant tumor it will inflict still greater pain on Soviet society. In the present context the KGB regards the drive against organized crime as a new objective, although we shall continue to let the Ministry of Internal Affairs take the lead here.

NEW TIMES: When do you think it was easier for the KGB to operate, before perestroika or today?

Vladimir Kryuchkov: I wouldn't call that a question to no point. Looking at things on the surface, some might think it easier to work in the backrooms and not have a dialogue with the public. That is not really so. It will be easier now. Let me explain. We always operated in the interests of the nation and sought to guarantee the security of society and the state. But when working without being open about it, we deprived ourselves of public support and trust. Today in the context of democratization we may now appeal to the public in some very special cases and we have already done that. We have got to get used to glasnost, from the psychological viewpoint that is. It is one thing when you know that there is no control by the public, another, when the citizenry keeps an eye on you. We shall need to operate better, more competently.

NEW TIMES: At the Supreme Soviet hearings, when deputies aired complaints against the KGB that they accumulated over the years, I caught myself thinking that despite all the past tragedies and blunders, it was not the KGB that had conditioned society and the state, but the state and its system that had moulded the KGB in its likeness and had adapted it to its needs.

Vladimir Kryuchkov: The KGB is understandably part of society. And what takes place in society directly affects it too. Take the public mood nowadays, which not infrequently derives from social tensions. It is having its impact. Sometimes this is negative, which even affects Chekists, as after all, they are no docile, depersonalized amorphous mass. We also have pluralism.

However, let us look at the problem from another angle, which I think is fundamental. The KGB should fully understand the need to adapt to society's interests; and on no account should society adapt itself to the KGB. I think that of paramount importance. We have made a rightabout turn. Before security interests placed society with the quandary of giving them priority and only then seeing to its own deeper interests.

NEW TIMES: How are you planning to organize your relationship with the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defence and State Security?

Vladimir Kryuchkov: I hear it said that this committee was supposedly constituted "behind the KGB's back." That was not so. When the Supreme Soviet committees and commissions were still in the embryon, we came out with the initiative to necessarily have a body to deal with state security. We have great hopes, of such a Supreme Soviet Committee. Cooperation has already begun with my having reported to the committee, made statements, and answered questions at the hearings concerned with the composition of the government. Collaborating with representatives of this Supreme Soviet Committee, we are planning what we intend to discuss at least before this year is out. I would like the deputies on the committee to hear not only the KGB Chairman, but also its other chiefs.

NEW TIMES: Considering the financial and economic crisis gripping the country it is only logical for the citizenry to want to know the expenses of all the different ministerial departments. Are you going to discuss your budget in the Supreme Soviet committee?

Vladimir Kryuchkov: Though it might seem most odd, we want to make the KGB budget public knowledge.

NEW TIMES: What stands in the way then?

Vladimir Kryuchkov: The fact that it was taboo before, which means an appropriate decision has to be taken. I am in no position to do that right off the bat. I need the green light. The party Central Committee favours it and as far as we know, the Supreme Soviet Committee is prepared to consider the matter. As for intelligence, we ought analyze international experience. Thus, the CIA has never made its budget public.

NEW TIMES: Nevertheless, the related expenses seem to appear in the press from year to year?

Vladimir Kryuchkov: That is so. But the range is broad and the figures differ. Incidentally, our budget is not something hard and fast. Life changes and so do the conditions in which we act, as well as the situation inside and outside the country. Hence some budget items will undoubtedly dance. They will be finalized in collaboration with the committee.

NEW TIMES: People are being made redundant in virtually all ministerial departments. Are you planning any cuts?

Vladimir Kryuchkov: That is a vital point with us. We are reassigning forces. There are some areas, in which there is less of a need, but there are others in which there is a greater need. Thus before we gave great heed when Soviet citizens travelled abroad. Now that problem is virtually non-existent. Not though as concerns people in possession of highly confidential information, that is quite a different matter. Every civilized state has its restrictions in that respect. On the other hand, if you take the drive against the new scale of organized crime, we shall need more here. Or take contraband. Last year, 23 million people crossed the frontier.

NEW TIMES: You mean there and back?

Vladimir Kryuchkov: Yes. Included are those who went in and out several times over the year. Of the 23 million 12 million were foreigners, who have more of an opportunity to bring in something or, on the contrary, take something out. Of course, not food or clothes, but valuables which every state would prize. Our border guards are also in a tight spot. Since 1985 we have been guarding the economic zone at sea which adds up to 8.6 million square kilometres possessing vast wealth. But thus far we have had to make do with what we have.

NEW TIMES: When your nomination was discussed in the Supreme Soviet the issue was raised time and again of telephone tapping and dossiers on citizens. This, of course, is of concern not only to deputies alone. Are these fears justified?

Vladimir Kryuchkov: Of course, the KGB possesses a definite stock of technical means which it uses and which are necessary as today's drive against lawbreakers is not that simple. After all, the lawbreakers include people who are technically well versed and you cannot deal with them with bare hands alone. For instance, every year dozens of premeditated explosions take place in this country. Unless you use technical methods, you will never uncover such crimes.

As for tapping, there are legal norms which strictly control that. However we would never do that for no reason, nor do we have dossiers on citizens. Ask a Chekist that and he will laugh. You might have such things in other countries, but not here.

NEW TIMES: Such questions are evidently asked because people do not know whether there exist any laws regulating the right to employ such methods.

Vladimir Kryuchkov: We are drafting a KGB statute, possibly even a law, that will regularize much, and we are planning to bring it to the public notice. I think the sooner we do that and the more widely we make this public, the greater the opportunity the citizenry will have for clarifying such matters and the less fears they will hence entertain.

NEW TIMES: Does that mean that thus far there are no legislative acts in this field that would be accessible to the ordinary citizen?

Vladimir Kryuchkov: Article 56 of the Constitution notes that the private life of the citizenry, the secrecy of correspondence, telephone conversations and telegraph communications are protected by law. But let me remind you that Article 39 of the Constitution indicates that the exercise by citizens of their rights and liberties should not impinge upon the interests of society and the state or the rights of fellow citizens.

NEW TIMES: Should I take this to mean that you are planning to introduce matters concerned with individual liberties in the KGB statute or law now being drafted?

Vladimir Kryuchkov: The statute will embrace every aspect of our activity.

NEW TIMES: But isn't there something that regularizes it?

Vladimir Kryuchkov: Of course. We have a 30-year-old statute, which has been complemented and amended over this period plus scores, if not hundreds, of diverse legal norms. In fact many ordinances legislative bodies and the government have issued apply to the KGB as well. We also maintain a legal section that is staffed with clever, well trained experts who see to it that the KGB's entire legal activity be duly regularized.

NEW TIMES: Has there been any shift of emphasis today, as regards the KGB's activities at home and abroad? What would you say comes first? Or is it impossible to discriminate?

Vladimir Kryuchkov: That can be done, although there is no clear line of demarcation. After all, whenever there is some external impact on Soviet life the foreign and domestic aspects intertwine. Of course, there are things of a purely domestic nature, but I think it is the external aspect that largely dominates.

Take the economic and commercial relations that have been developing at an unprecedented rate in recent years. At the Supreme Soviet I underscored the significance of commercial secrecy. To begin with, we are still bumbling businessmen, who not infrequently engage in commercial deals at a great disadvantage to ourselves. Soviet enterprises, that may now venture into the foreign market, have at times been taken for a sucker in dealings. I know of cases when it transpired after the fact that some of our so-called businessmen did not even know what credit and debit mean when concluding a deal.

Let me further note for instance, that the U.S.A. has hundreds of firms with their own intelligence and counterintelligence services which seems sheer fantasy to us, as our firms have nothing of the sort. But I will not be surprised if they also come to employ such methods when they find themselves sold a pup in commercial operations.

NEW TIMES: Let us switch to the foreign policy aspect. For 14 years you were chief of Soviet intelligence. How would you define the KGB's role and place in shaping Soviet foreign policy?

Vladimir Kryuchkov: Naturally we are interested in what goes on abroad. The relevant information obtained provides the basis for trust or suspicion. When mistrust lessens in international affairs and no longer agitates the minds of statesmen and the public, then perhaps our services will retire. But while that is still in evidence, there is good reason to maintain intelligence services. Then one must also take into consideration the difference in national interests.

NEW TIMES: Evidently several departments, not just one, prepare the ground for each foreign policy move. In this connection, what does the KGB need to do as regards disarmament, the settlement of regional conflicts and relations between states?

Vladimir Kryuchkov: It is for the KGB to obtain and piece together objective, note objective, and wherever possible advance, information. It is not our job to photograph, which as a rule is of little help. We have analysts. The point is—and I think this is the first time I have made this public—that you have both confidential and open information, which is vital to piece together when shaping foreign policy. Because if we draw conclusions exclusively from one kind of information, we shall surely err. We try to compare and assess. The very fact that we contribute to the elaboration of one or another foreign policy issue calls for a responsible approach indeed and shows that our opinions are taken into account. Indeed, I should say that generally speaking, the intelligence service's views are reckoned with in every country.

Once in a while we initiate one or another foreign policy move. Still, I think we have but one arbiter, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, headed by a man with that feel for the new which is so essential nowadays.

NEW TIMES: Do you think that before Soviet foreign policy always proceeded from realistic assessments, more specifically, those the KGB furnished?

Vladimir Kryuchkov: Of course, we had our mistakes, which are inevitable. Thus, if a problem had only two or three components, that would not be so bad. But it may have dozens if not hundreds, of components. One is obliged to weigh up many aspects of the domestic and foreign activities of one or another state. Hence at times we erred. The main thing is to promptly realize mistakes and rectify them as quickly as possible.

NEW TIMES: What I had in mind generally were not your mistakes, but the extent to which you are heeded in decision making. Say, for instance, you furnish a realistic assessment, but at some level it might be slightly groomed.

Vladimir Kryuchkov: I feel I must mention "the other side." CIA colleagues usually claim there are some points on which they were not heeded, as the result of which the U.S. administration heavily blundered. We have been no exception. How does this occur? Let me explain. Suppose we suddenly obtain an unusual, perhaps bizarre assessment or communication that does not dovetail with habitual concepts. This makes somebody doubt and entertain suspicions. Still, I am convinced that the intelligence can consistently persevere, in which case blunders could be avoided.

NEW TIMES: For centuries what the different intelligence services do has been related to as "the secret war." Can you have intelligence services coexist when international relations change?

Vladimir Kryuchkov: I think "the secret war" could be ruled out today, even at the level of intelligence services. As far as coexistence is concerned, we are coexisting. They work and we do the same.

NEW TIMES: Does that mean "peaceful coexistence?"

Vladimir Kryuchkov: Yes and no. For "peaceful coexistence" there should be certain rules. We work, frankly speaking, without rules. Intelligence is a game without rules. There are certain specific features, which I regret to say, prevent us from reaching agreement with anyone on how and according to which rules we should conduct intelligence operations against one another. But I think we should always have decency, even in our business.

NEW TIMES: A gentleman's agreement would you say?

Vladimir Kryuchkov: Decency, in the sense that there are some limits which one cannot cross. Cruelty, an inhumane attitude and the roughshod trammeling of human rights have never been characteristic of our intelligence arm, though, of course, it employs many, what I would call, emergency methods. Our comrades operate in complex conditions. They know no rest and sometimes seem not to know what the future might bring. This job has never lengthened life. Unfortunately, due to sundry circumstances, we often lose our fighting friends.

NEW TIMES: What would you say about cooperation between intelligence services as concerns such common areas, as the drive against terrorism, drug trafficking, and the proliferation of nuclear weapons?

Vladimir Kryuchkov: I take a favourable view. It is time to see things in their proper perspective. For both sides, of course. We must cooperate. Take terrorism, especially nuclear terrorism. At the Supreme Soviet hearings I was guilty of an inaccuracy, when I said that several tons of enriched uranium had disappeared in the world. Not several tons, but several hundred tons and where they were we do not know, although we can guess. There is so much knowledge and technological potential around in the world today that it is easy enough to put together a nuclear device and use it to blackmail an entire nation, not just one city. Nor can I rule out the desire by somebody to put nuclear weapons to use. There are such criminals. In short, we are prepared to cooperate in the drive against terrorism and drug trafficking.

NEW TIMES: Do you meet with understanding from "the other side?"

Vladimir Kryuchkov: In some cases. And we reciprocate. For instance, if we get to know that somebody's life is in danger, we endeavour to pass on such information. This is greatly appreciated and in similar cases they pass on relevant information to us. Indeed whatever the case, human life comes first.

A recent instance of cooperation is provided by the rescue of the Soviet schoolchildren the terrorists took hostage in order to hijack a plane and fly to a "suitable" country. I would term this operation a classical one as it has ushered in a whole new era in our work. Not a single child, not a single rescue operative and not a single terrorist even suffered. When the terrorists indicated Israel as their destination, we encouraged them, as we were sure we would reach understanding there.

We helped the British and the Canadians, when working together with them to stem the intake into their countries of large consignments of drugs. For the time being, our problems here cannot compare in scope with those in the West, which includes the drug traffic. However, we will inevitably find handy the experience they have accumulated in combating the drug traffic. For that matter, no experience should be ignored. It's worst of all to learn by your own mistakes. Incidentally, when the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Defence and State Security was being set up, we once again analyzed American Congressional experience. There are some things we can borrow from the Americans, even how to guard state secrets. They are very strict in those matters.

NEW TIMES: Finally, our readers would like to know what sort of a person the KGB Chairman is?

Vladimir Kryuchkov: I must say I'm none too fond of talking about myself. There's nothing unusual about my life if not for my having been an intelligence officer. I started out in life as a factory worker and always have a warm spot in my heart for that chapter in my life. I graduated by correspondence from the USSR Institute of Law and served as an investigating officer and procurator. Subsequently, I initiated a change in life when I entered the Soviet Higher Diplomatic School at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. In 1956 I was on the staff of the Soviet Embassy in Hungary where I came face to face with the developments there. However, looking back today I see many things in a different light, which is only natural. Our Hungarian friends today are looking for the best answers to the questions that history poses, and I think we should not view this effort with intolerence.

Later I was on the Party apparatus in the Central Committee Department for International Affairs. Today it is "modish" to assail the Party apparatus. However, I would like to say that I learned a lot there and met some wonderful dedicated people, despite the unpleasant exceptions that are the case everywhere. But I thought then and am quite convinced today that one should emerge more often from the backrooms, mix with people and talk to them face to face. I remember when touring Central Asia back in 1961 with lectures on the international situation, how during a conversation after one such lecture, I caught one man staring at me. I asked him why and he said: "Though I'm 60, it's the first time I've ever seen someone from the central apparatus."

As for our Chekists, many have two college diplomas, while a knowledge of two languages is standard for the intelligence services. These are dedicated, honest folk. Indeed, honesty is a basic criterion.

NEW TIMES: Still, if possible, more about yourself. According to our intelligence, you are an incorrigible theatre-goer. Any special likes?

Vladimir Kryuchkov: Yes. But they change from time to time. I have always adored the Bolshoi. Although lately it has not been doing much to update its repertoire. It does not bill some world famous production as, for instance, Bellini's "Norma," which I, incidentally, saw at the Bolshoi, but performed by the La Scala company.

As for playhouses, I cannot say now which would be my favourite. Earlier I preferred Sovremennik. Later I was attracted to the Taganka company. However, as they deteriorated I switched to others, inasmuch as Moscow has so many, more than in any other city in the world.

NEW TIMES: Do you know what "spare time" means?

Vladimir Kryuchkov: I'm afraid not. It's a shame, but that's how things stand. I was appointed KGB Chairman only last October and I still haven't grasped everything, there are so many different fields. I want to know and understand as much as I can. True, only recently I was able to get to a Van Cliburn recital. Before the performance he said in passing that he would not be averse to a flat in Moscow. I would note that, as then he might give more concerts here.

NEW TIMES: Are you able to forget you are KGB chairman when at home?

Vladimir Kryuchkov: The telephone keeps reminding me who I am. Only sport rarely enables me to relax. But generally speaking, the KGB chairman's life is no bed of roses. When my appointment was to be confirmed in the Supreme Soviet and one deputy called me an aspirant to the office, I corrected him to say that I was not that, but a candidate, as I have never heard of anyone volunteering for the office. I haven't at least, although I regard with every responsibility the lofty trust reposed in me.

Sidorova: Thank you.

Kryuchkov Cited on KGB Film, Role

LD1309145289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1355 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 13 Sep (TASS)—The video film The KGB Today, shot by NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY (APN) is dedicated to the USSR State Security Committee's activity in the conditions of the perestroyka process. Its presentation took place today in the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs press center.

The film The KGB Today is a multi-functional mechanism with a well-regulated system of administration [upravleniya]. It deals with intelligence and counterintelligence, the struggle against terrorism, the investigation of serious accidents and tragedies. It is also a government link and guards of the USSR state border. Nowadays, the KGB has nothing in common with what this organization represented in the infamous thirties, forties, and fifties. Now, in the state security bodies, there is not one staff member who would be party to the events of those years to one extent or another.

The makers of the film also showed to the assembled journalists a video recording of their conversations with Vladimir Kryuchkov, USSR KGB chairman, who characterized the film as the first attempt to create an objective representation of the country's state security bodies and to give a more or less entire representation of their activity.

The film notes that even 5 years ago it would have seemed fantasy for there to be talk about the possibility of the KGB cooperating with the special services of other countries, when certain kinds of crime have crossed the borders of one country and combating them successfully depends to a considerable extent on international contacts between special services.

The USSR, according to the KGB chairman's statement, advocates this kind of cooperation, of course, given coincidence of interests and a desire for this. For example, the USSR KGB recently conducted an operation in conjunction with the special services of a state to seize a large batch of drugs passing through Soviet territory. Information about this operation is soon to be made public.

The film pays great attention to the KGB's role in combating organized crime in the country. It notes that the KGB has had to work on these matters before, but not on such a scale. At the present time the parameters of the committee's involvement in combating crime have been considerably expanded. As Vladimir Kryuchkov stressed, the KGB works in strict accordance with the law.

First Photographs of 'Secret War Port'

AU1209103389 Hamburg BILD AM SONNTAG in German 10 Sep 89 pp 30-33

[Unattributed report: "Photographed for the First Time: Gorby's Secret War Port"]

[Text] The double prow of the "Hornoy" catamaran passenger ship of the Norwegian Finamrk Fylkesrederi og Ruteselskap shipping company is plowing through the gray sea off the Kola Peninsula in the Arctic Sea, en route to Murmansk.

A Canadian passenger in his seventies searches the ridged coast with his binoculars. "I was here before, during the war—as an observer aboard a liberty ship, full with tanks and gasoline for the Red Army. A convoy. We managed to get over the Atlantic in one piece, through the packs of German submarines. Murmansk, the only Russian post without ice in the North, was a magic word for us at that time. If we arrived there, we had done it, we had survived."

Now, 47 years later, the Canadian is one of 172 Western tourists, the first to see Gorbachev's secret war port on the Kola Peninsula in the Arctic Sea: Polyarniy, about 30 nautical miles north of Murmansk, the largest military port of the Warsaw Pact. From here, the nuclear submarines were launched which caught fire off the northern Norwegian coast in summer and caused a nuclear alert to be given. One of the passengers photographed the secret Soviet Navy base for BILD AM SONNTAG. Two KGB officers at the railing of the Norwegian catamaran ship looked away discretely—also a bit of glasnost.

Norwegian passengers reported on the unusual voyage of discovery.

"When we passed the northern tip of the Kola Peninsula, we met a partly submerged nuclear submarine. On the open sea it turned toward the West. In the Murmansk fjord the color of the water changed from a dark blue to green-brown—a sure sign of contamination by oil and waste water; on the shore fortresses, camouflaged with artificial lawn, with more than 20 radar stations—spheres and screens; on the quay at least 40 submarines, frigates, destroyers, and ice-breakers four rows deep; jets were constantly circling over the forest of antennas and the helling [holding area for ships going into dry-dock] of the shipyards."

Officers and crews of the secret war ports and their families—separated from their relatives and friends at home—live in three-to six-story houses. There are no name plates. The crews of the war ships are changed every 2 years and sent to other war ports on the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea. In this way, the Moscow supreme command wants to prevent sailors, who are in Polyarniy for a longer period, from learning too much about the secret command structures—and thus become interesting to Western intelligence services.

The fact that Gorbachev now lets Western passenger ships pass the quays of his secret war port is explained by DGB officers Sergey Subotin and Vladimir Ivanov aboard the Norwegian catamaran "Hornoy" as follows: "In the West much nonsense was said after the accidents on our nuclear submarines off the Norwegian coast. It was claimed that the Arctic Sea is threatened with nuclear contamination. That was all lies. We do not have to hide anything—and therefore we are showing you everything."

A bit of glasnost, but also a bit of propaganda. No one can see the nuclear submarines which caught fire off Norway's coast in summer. They are being repaired in subterranean dry-docks....

Economic

Gossnab Official Discusses Gas, Fuel Delays

18240237 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 2 Sep 89 p 1

[Article by S. Turanov: "Banks on Gasoline Rivers"]

[Text] These are hectic days in the fields of our country; vigorous harvesting is underway. One cannot do without machinery, and this is why a disruption in the delivery of gasoline and diesel fuel to rural workers brings about a disturbance in the pace of operation of the "agroindustrial conveyer." At the teleconferences conducted at the USSR Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supplies], this problem is considered with particular care. Leaders of a number of ministries, of the republic Goskomnefteprodukt [State Committee for Refinery Products], railroads, and oil refineries are taking part in them....

This is how the Chairman of the USSR Gossnab, Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers P. Mostovoy opened the last teleconference: "The situation which has emerged in the transportation of refinery products is intolerable. During 28 days of August, they have failed to transport over 2 million tons of refinery products, including 513,000 and 478,000 tons of motor gasoline and diesel fuel respectively."

The arrears in fulfilling the assignment have already exceeded the July debts by a factor of 2 (!) The situation is particularly difficult in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], Tajikistan, and the Ukraine. What is the reason for the situation which has emerged?

Pavel Ivanovich says: "A number of railroads are not doing a satisfactory job transporting refinery products. These are primarily the Volga, Sverdlovsk, North Caucasus, Gorkiy, and South Urals Railroads. The overall arrears of the MPS [Ministry of Railways] have already come up to about 10,000 tank cars of gasoline and 8,000 tank cars of diesel fuel.

The First Deputy Chief of the Main Administration of Transport of the USSR MPS, V. Zakharenko, assures us: "We are monitoring the situation. We have penalized three managers of railroads for the disruptions which were allowed to occur, and we are going to rectify the situation...."

The unsatisfactory transportation of fuel is exacerbated by the poor work of a number of oil-refining enterprises. The Pavlodar and Mazheyk Refineries and the Azneftekhim and Omsknefteorgsintez Associations are particularly "at fault."

Deputy Chairman of the USSR Gossnab V. Kostyunin told a TASS correspondent: "The issue of gasoline and diesel fuel shortage in the national economy of our country has been coming up for a number of years. It so happens that the volumes of their production are stable, whereas the needs have been growing year after year. However, I believe that the current level of production is more than adequate, provided, of course, that we use refinery products rationally. There is a multitude of unresolved issues in both the production of liquid fuel and its consumption. We obtain 20 percent less light refinery products from 1 ton of oil than, say, in the United States. Domestically produced trucks of a number of models consume too much gasoline; the switching of cars to diesel and gaseous fuel has been proceeding slowly."

Vladimir Nikolayevich went on to say: "Recently we inspected the Moldavian Agroindustrial Committee. It turned out that equipment subject to retirement which consumes increased quantities of fuel is frequently operated on the farms. Many such examples can be quoted.

In this case, the reason for forced wastefulness is found in the shortage of motor vehicles."

Agricultural

Nikonov Examines Leasing Arrangements

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[Text] Matters pertaining to the refinement of leasing relations in the countryside were scrutinized during a trip to Narofominskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast, on 2 September by Viktor Petrovich Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. In the village of Subbotino he became thoroughly acquainted with the work of the Semakov family's leasehold link. They have leased 50 young cows from the farm and have begun producing milk. They plan to build a cheese-making shop next to the house and have already selected a suitable design and brought in the equipment. After inspecting this equipment Viktor Petrovich Nikonov noted that there is a very acute need to set up such shops for processing meat and milk. These are the kind of enterprises that will make it possible to reduce losses of agricultural produce to a minimum.

In the village of Tyutchevo a meeting was held with a leaseholder named Gusenov. He noted that they are being hampered in their work by the absence of prices for land and buildings, and the excessive cost of agricultural machinery. In this connection, the participants in the meeting looked into the matter of leaseholders pooling efforts and resources. Finally, in one of Tyutchevo's barns, Viktor Petrovich Nikonov held a warm conversation with the village's inhabitants. The CPSU Central committee secretary showed an interest in the working and living conditions of the state farm workers, and replied to their questions.

Military

Yazov Visits, Addresses Central Group of Forces

PM0809094589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Sep 89 First Edition p 1

[Own correspondent Colonel P. Chernenko report: "With the Troops of the Central Group of Forces"]

[Text] 7 Sep—USSR Defense Minister Army General D. Yazov, who is visiting the Central Group of Forces, has familiarized himself with the progress of combat and political training and the lives and leisure of servicemen at the Milovice Garrison, and met with officers at units and subunits. In his speech Army Gen D. Yazov talked about the existing international situation and the Soviet Government's activity aimed at strengthening peace and security in Europe, and set the tasks of further improving combat training and strengthening military discipline in units and subunits. The speech stressed that during the period of perestroyka, even greater competence and purposefulness is required of commanders and political workers in resolving their assignments and in improving the effectiveness and quality of combat and political training.

The meeting was attended by Lieutenant General V. Malashkevich, acting commander of the Central Group of Forces; and Lieutenant General B. Sharikov, member of the military council and chief of the political directorate.